ओ३म्

आर्यभट्ट

विज्ञान-पत्रिका

अप्रैल-जून, १९९०



सम्पादक :

डा० विजय शंकर

अध्यक्ष : वनस्पति विज्ञान विभाग

परामर्शदाता :

प्रो० सुरेशचन्द्र त्यागी

प्राचार्य : विज्ञान महाविद्यालय

मूल्य ५-००

प्रकाशक
डा० वीरेन्द्र अरोड़ा
कुलसचिव
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

मुद्रक
जैना प्रिंटर्स
ज्वालापुर



विश्वविद्यालय के संस्थापक : स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द

बलिदान तिथि २५ दिसम्बर १९३०

(जन्म—फरवरी, १८५६)



विश्वविद्यालय के नये कुलपति
श्री सुभाष विद्यालंकार

आर्यभट्ट विज्ञान-पत्रिका

इस अंक की विशेषता—पर्यावरण

पूरे विश्व में वर्तमान पीढ़ी अपने पर्यावरण की सुरक्षा को लेकर चिन्तित है। यह कहा जा रहा है कि यदि हम अपने पर्यावरण का—वनों का, वृक्ष-वनस्पतियों का, जन्तुओ का, जलवायु का, भूमि का प्रबन्ध ठीक से नही करते, संरक्षण नही करते, विकास के नाम पर उन पर बराबर प्रहार करते रहेंगे नष्ट करते रहेगे, तब एक दिन निश्चित आयेगा जब मनुष्य का पृथ्वी पर जीवित रहना भी कठिन हो जायेगा। अतः समय रहते हमें जाग जाना चाहिये। पर्यावरण के वे घटक, जिनके कारण पृथ्वी पर मानव एवं अन्य प्रकार के जीवन बने हुए हैं, अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण हैं। ये घटक पृथ्वी पर मानव के जीवित रहने के लिये अत्यावश्यक हैं। इन्ही बातो को ध्यान में रखते हुए पत्रिका के इस अंक में पर्यावरण के विभिन्न पहलुओ (वैदिक समय से वर्तमान तक) पर लेख प्रस्तुत हैं। विकास कार्यों और पर्यावरण में सन्तुलन बनाये रखना आवश्यक है। आज इसी को लेकर बड़े बाध एव बिजलीघर बनाने की बुद्धिमत्ता पर प्रश्नचिन्ह लग चुका है। भारत मे भी टिहरी और नर्मदासागर बांध विवाद की परिधि में आ गये है। इस पत्रिका मे इन विषयो पर भी विचार प्रस्तुत किये गये हैं। ये लेखको के अपने विचार हैं। सम्पादक या विश्वविद्यालय इनके लिये उत्तरदायी नही हैं। पाठको से निवेदन है कि वे पर्यावरण सम्बन्धी ज्वलन्त समस्याओ पर अपने विचार प्रस्तुत करते रहे और पर्यावरण संरक्षण एव समृद्धि के लिये सुझाव देते रहे जिससे पत्रिका पूर्व की भांति पर्यावरण शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में अपना विनम्र योगदान देती रहे।

—सम्पादक

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विषय सूची

श्री सुभाष विद्यालंकार का संक्षिप्त विवरण

श्री सुभाष विद्यालंकार ५० से भी अधिक वर्षों से गुरुकुल कांगड़ी से सम्बद्ध रहे हैं। माता-पिता ने बचपन में ही इन्हे गुरुकुल कांगड़ी में प्रविष्ट करा दिया था। गुरुकुल कागड़ी की शिक्षा विधिवत् पूर्ण करने के पश्चात् १६४६ मे उन्हे विद्यालकार की उपाधि प्रदान की गई। छात्र जीवन मे वे विश्वविद्यालय के कुल-मन्त्री पद पर कार्य करने के अतिरिक्त गुरुकुल की सास्कृतिक एव साहित्यिक गतिविधियों मे प्रमुख रूप से भाग लेते रहे। खेल-कूद मे भी उनकी गहरी रुचि रही। विद्यार्थी जीवन में उन्होने दो बार पर्वतारोहण दलो का नेतृत्व भी किया। तैरना, वन भ्रमण, प्रकृति से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध तथा पत्रकारिता उनके छात्रजीवन की विशिष्ट गतिविधियाँ थी।

गुरुकुल से स्नातक बनने के पश्चात् उन्होने पुस्तक प्रकाशन और सम्पादन का पैतृक व्यवसाय सभाला।

उन्होने आगरा विश्वविद्यालय से सस्कृत विषय में एम०ए० की परीक्षा सम्मान सहित प्रथम श्रेणी मे उत्तीर्ण की। दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय मे कानून का अध्ययन किया तथा भारत सरकार के विदेश भाषा विद्यालय मे रूसी भाषा एव साहित्य का उच्च अध्ययन भी किया।

वे संघ लोक सेवा आयोग द्वारा आयोजित अखिल भारतीय परीक्षा मे भारतीय सूचना सेवा (इण्डियन इन्फारमेशन सर्विस) के लिए चुने गए। भारत सरकार की सेवा मे उन्होने २७ वर्षों तक अनेक पदों पर कार्य किया। इस दौरान उन्होंने आकाशवाणी के समाचार विभाग, पत्र सूचना कार्यालय (प्रेस इन्फारमेशन ब्यूरो), प्रकाशन विभाग (पब्लिकेशन डिविजन), योजना आयोग (प्लानिंग कमीशन) और दिल्ली प्रशासन मे विभिन्न पदो पर सम्पादन और प्रकाशन की जिम्मेदारियाँ सफलतापूर्वक निभाई। १६७८ मे दिल्ली प्रशासन ने उन्हे निदेशक, जनसम्पर्क (डाइरेक्टर, पब्लिक रिलेशन्स) के पद पर कार्य करने हेतु बुलाया, उन्होने इस पद की जिम्मेदारी पूर्ण उत्तर-दायित्व और निष्ठा के साथ निभाई। किन्तु शासन परिवर्तन के कारण उन्हे नई सरकार का कोपभाजन बनना पड़ा इसलिए उन्होने १६८० मे अपनी इच्छा से नौकरी से त्याग-पत्र दे दिया।

२७ वर्षों से भी अधिक के सेवाकाल में उन्होंने प्रशासन, शिक्षा, पत्रकारिता,

जनसम्पर्क, संस्था प्रबन्ध एवं कानून की अनेक शाखाओं, विशेषकर प्रशासनिक विधि (एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव लॉ) मे विशेष योग्यता और अनुभव प्राप्त किए।

त्याग-पत्र देने के पश्चात् उन्होने कानून के क्षेत्र मे कार्य करने का निश्चय किया और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय ख्यातिप्राप्त देश के प्रमुख विधिवेत्ता डा० लक्ष्मीमल सिंघवी के निर्देशन मे देश के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय एवं दिल्ली उच्च न्यायालय मे वकालत प्रारम्भ की। १९८५ मे भारत सरकार द्वारा केन्द्रीय प्रशासनिक अधिकरण (सेन्ट्रल एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव ट्रिब्यूनल) स्थापित कर दिए जाने पर श्री विद्यालंकार ने प्रशासनिक विधि के क्षेत्र में अपना ध्यान केन्द्रित किया और इस क्षेत्र मे अनेक उल्लेखनीय सफलताएँ प्राप्त की।

वैदिक साहित्य, योग, दर्शन, संस्कृत-साहित्य, प्रशासनिक विधि, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सम्बन्ध, राष्ट्रीय घटनाओ तथा अध्यात्मिक साहित्य के अध्ययन में उनकी गहरी रुचि है। वैदिक साहित्य के प्रचार और प्रसार के लिए उन्होने वेद प्रतिष्ठान के अधीन चारो वेदो का सरल अंग्रेजी अनुवाद प्रकाशित करने की योजना १९७५ मे प्रारम्भ की थी। इस योजना के अधीन ऋग्वेद संहिता के १३ खण्ड प्रकाशित किये जा चुके हैं। इसके अधीन चारो वेदो का प्रकाशन ३० खण्डों मे पूरा होगा। आर्य समाज के क्षेत्र मे भी उनका योगदान उल्लेखनीय है। दिल्ली की प्रमुख आर्य समाज, हनुमान रोड के वे अनेक वर्षों तक मन्त्री और उप-प्रधान रहे हैं।

शिक्षा के क्षेत्र मे भी उन्होंने सदैव व्यक्तिगत रुचि ली है। दिल्ली मे आर्य समाज की प्रमुख शिक्षा संस्था रघुमल आर्य कन्या उच्चतर माध्यमिक विद्यालय के वे अनेक वर्षों तक अवैतनिक प्रबन्धक रहे हैं। पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश की प्रमुख एव प्राचीन शिक्षण संस्था मेरठ कालिज की प्रबन्ध समिति के वे आजीवन सदस्य हैं। वे मेरठ कालिज की कार्यकारिणी के भी अनेक वर्षों तक सदस्य रहे हैं। शिक्षा और आर्य समाज के क्षेत्र में उनके क्रियात्मक योगदान और रुचि को ध्यान मे रखकर गुरुकुल कांगडी विश्वविद्यालय के तत्कालीन कुलाधिपति डा० सत्यकेतु विद्यालंकार ने १९८८ मे श्री सुभाष विद्यालंकार को इस विश्वविद्यालय की शिष्ट परिषद् का सदस्य मनोनीत किया था।

सम्पादकीय

पर्यावरण संरक्षण आवश्यक क्यों ?

"पर्यावरण से हमारा तात्पर्य अपने या किसी भी जीव या जीवसमूह के बाहर विद्यमान परिवेश, समस्त वस्तुओ, पदार्थों एव कारको के समुच्चय या सम्मिश्रण से है, जैसे—जल, वायु पृथ्वी, धुआँ, ध्वनि, मोटर, रेल, वायुयान, जन्तु-वनस्पति, मनुष्य आदि।

मनुष्य के द्वारा की गई अनेक क्रियाओ के फलस्वरूप आज पर्यावरण में ऐसे परिवर्तन आ रहे हैं जो समस्त प्रकार के जीवन के लिये हानिकारक हैं। इस प्रकार हमारा पर्यावरण दूषित हो रहा है। इस समस्या की ओर आज पूरे विश्व का ध्यान आकृष्ट हुआ है।

वर्तमान जगत की यह समस्या जो भयावह रूप से मानव सभ्यता को निगल जाने के लिये अपने पंजे बढा रही है, प्रदूषण की समस्या है। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की पर्यावरण के प्रति सहनशीलता की निश्चित सीमाये हैं और जब कोई कारक इन सीमाओ से अधिक मात्रा मे उपस्थित होता है, उसे प्रदूषण कहते हैं। इससे निबटने के लिये, वातावरण मे इस विष-वमन की प्रतिक्रिया को रोकने के लिये सभी देशो की सरकारे प्रयत्नशील है। इस विष को पीने के लिये भगवान शिव की तरह सबसे अधिक सफल माध्यम वृक्ष पाये गये हैं। इनकी पत्तियाँ वायु मे मिले प्रदूषण पदार्थो के सूक्ष्म कणो को रोक और सोख लेती हैं। पत्थर के कोयले से उत्पन्न प्रदूषण रोकने के लिये "जगल जलेबी" नामक वृक्ष का सघन रोपण बहुत लाभकारी पाया गया है। यह धुँए की सान्द्रता मे लगभग "२७ प्रतिशत" की कमी और सल्फर डाय-आक्साइड की सान्द्रता मे "८० प्रतिशत" को कमी करने मे समर्थ पाया गया। शक्तिचालित वाहन, जैसे—कारें, ट्रक एव बसे भी प्रदूषण के स्रोत है। यदि सडको और मकानो के बीच १० मीटर चौड़ी तथा ६ मीटर ऊँची हरित पट्टिका का विकास किया जाये तो मार्गों से आने वाले कार्बन मोनो आक्साइड की मात्रा मे "४४ प्रतिशत" कमी हो जाती है।

वायु के समान जल भी प्रदूषण से मुक्त नही है। कारखानो से निकलने वाले नाना प्रकार के प्रदूषक पदार्थ नदियो मे प्रवाहित किये जाते हैं। इसीलिये कानपुर के निकट गगा और कलकत्ता के निकट हुगली नदी प्रदूषण का शिकार है। इस समय भारत के १३ नगर जल प्रदूषण से ग्रस्त है। कारखानो से निकलने वाले अनेक ट्रेस एलोमेंट नदी के जल मे प्रवाहित हो जाते हैं जिनमें से कुछ पौधो और जन्तुओ मे मेटाबोलिक एरर पैदा कर देते है जिससे कई प्रकार के रोग हो जाते है जैसे कैंसर, हृदय रोग, स्नायु रोग एव पेट के रोग।

प्रदूषण के लिये प्राय जनसख्या को उत्तरदायी माना जाता है। बढती हुई जनसख्या की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति के लिये अधिक औद्योगीकरण किया जाता है जिससे प्रदूषण मे वृद्धि होती है। किन्तु आज हम देखते है कि अनेक विकसित देशों मे जनसंख्या कम होने पर भी प्रदूषण अधिक जनसख्या वाले देशो की तुलना मे अधिक है क्योंकि वहाँ प्रति व्यक्ति आवश्यकता अधिक है। अत वास्तविक दोष तृष्णा का है। शायद इसीलिये हमारे वैदिक ऋषियो ने "इदन्नमम" को इतना महत्व दिया है।

वातावरण संरक्षण

प्रदूषण को कम करने के अतिरिक्त पौधो का वातावरण-सरक्षण मे भी अत्यधिक महत्व है। वृक्षो का बेहिसाब काटा जाना, जगल के जगल साफ कर देना प्रकृति मे असन्तुलन पैदा कर देता है। इसके दूरगामी परिणाम होते — भूमि का 'अपरदन' प्रारम्भ हो जाता है, भूमि कृषि के 'अयोग्य' हो जाती है। ताप-नियन्त्रण एव 'जलचक्र'' नियन्त्रण बिगड जाता है, जन्तुजीवन के प्राकृतिक निवास एव वनसम्पदा नष्ट हो जाते हैं। प्रत्यक्ष है कि वातावरण-सरक्षण और वृक्षो का गहरा सम्बन्ध है। "रक्षया प्रकृति पातु लोका. ।" ब्रह्मोपनिषद् का यह वाक्य मनुष्य को सदैव याद रखना पडगा अन्यथा विनाश का वह मार्ग जिस पर वह चल पड़ा है उसे कही का नही छोडेगा।

वेदों में पर्यावरण संरक्षण

असबाध बध्यतो मानवानां यस्या उद्वत प्रवतः सम बहु।
नाना वीर्या ओषधीर्या बिभर्ति पृथिवी न प्रथता राध्ता न ॥

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वनस्पतियों से युक्त पृथ्वी ही कल्याण करने वाली है

पृथ्वी के ऊँचे भाग, अर्थात् पर्वत, समतल भाग और निम्न भाग नाना गुणों वाली औषधियो से परिपूर्ण हो। ऐसी नाना गुणो से युक्त वनस्पतियो से

मण्डित पृथ्वी ही मनुष्यमात्र का कल्याण करने वाली होती है। जब पृथ्वी के उक्त तीनों भाग वनस्पतियों से नगे हो जाते है तो पृथ्वी मनुष्य का कल्याण करने मे असमर्थ हो जाती है।

विश्वभरा वसुधानी प्रतिष्ठाहिरण्यवक्षा जगतो निवेशनो।
वैश्वानर बिभ्रति भूमिरग्निमिद्रऋषभाद्रविणे नो दधातु ॥
अथर्व० १२/६

भूमि सम्पूर्ण सम्पदाओं की जननी है

यह पृथ्वी समस्त विश्व का भरण-पोषण करती है यह सभी प्रकार के ऐश्वर्यों को धारण करती है, इस पृथ्वी की छाती में सभी स्वर्ण आदि धातुये विद्यमान है, इसी मे समस्त प्रकार की अग्नियां भी रहती है। यह धन एव सभी को बल प्रदान करती है। अर्थात् ऐसी भूमि की हमे रक्षा करनी चाहिये।

गिरयस्ते पर्वता हिमवन्तोऽरण्यते पृथिवीस्योनमस्तु।
बभ्रु कृष्णा रोहिणी विश्वरूपा ध्रुवा भूमि पृथिवामिद्रगुप्ताम्
अजीतोऽहतो अक्षतोऽध्यष्ठा पृथिवीमहम् ॥ अथर्व० १२/११

पृथ्वी की रक्षा कर, वह तुम्हें दीर्घजीवी बनाएगी

हे मानव! भूरे रग वाली, काले रंग वाली और लाल रग वाली पृथ्वी क्रमश भरण-पोषण, कृषियोग्य और अत्यन्त उपजाऊ होती है एव रमणीय पर्वतमालाओ एव नाना प्रकार के वनो से परिपूर्ण रहती है। ऐसी भूमि मनुष्य को पूर्ण आयु प्रदान करती है एव स्वस्थ रखती है।

यस्या वृक्षा वानस्पत्या ध्रुवास्तिष्ठन्ति विश्वहा।
पृथिवी विश्वधायस धृतामच्छा वदामसि ॥
अथर्व० १२/२७

नाना प्रकार के वृक्ष और वनस्पतियों से मण्डित पृथ्वी

जिस भूमि पर सदा बहुत बडे वन और जगल तथा नाना प्रकार की वनस्पतियां स्थिर रूप मे रहती है, जिसके पेड़ो को कभी भी नही काटा जाता है, वह पृथ्वी सभी की पालना एव रक्षा करती है, हम उसको नमस्कार करते हैं।

यते भूमे विखनामि क्षिप्रेतदपि रोह तु ।
मा ते मर्म विमृग्वरि मा ते हृदयमर्पिपम् ।।
अथर्व० १२/३५

बिना प्रयोजन के भूमि को न खोदे

हे भूमि हम तेरे जिस भाग को खोदे, वह शीघ्र ही हरा-भरा हो जाये अर्थात् पौधो को इस तरह न काटे कि वह फिर से न उग सके। लोहा, कोयला आदि पदार्थों के निमित्त हमे भूमि को खोदना पडता है परन्तु उसे सावधानी से खोदे। पृथ्वी अन्वेषण करने योग्य है परन्तु भूमि की रोहण शक्ति को हम नष्ट न करें। उसे व्यर्थ मे न खोदे (अन्यथा इससे भूमि अपरदन होगा)।

शिलाभूमिरश्मा पासु सा भूमि सधृता धृता ।
तस्यै हिरण्यवक्षसे पृथिव्या अकरे नम ।।
अथर्व० १२/२६

पृथ्वी के विभिन्न रूप

वह पृथ्वी शिला, पत्थर, धूल मिट्टी आदि रूपो वाली है। इस भूमि के वक्षस्थल मे सोना, चादी, लोहा, तावा, हीरे, जवाहरात एव खनिज लवण आदि विद्यमान है। ये खनिज लवण पौधो की वृद्धि के लिये आवश्यक होते है। यह भूमि सबको धारण करने वाली है। हमे इसका सत्कार करना चाहिये।

पर्यावरण प्रदूषण का वैदिक समाधान

—डा० भारतभूषण विद्यालङ्कार
रीडर, वेद विभाग
गुरुकुल कांगडी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

जब हम पर्यावरण की चर्चा करते हैं तो सर्वप्रथम उसके क्षेत्र के बारे मे प्रश्न उठता है। यह पर्यावरण है क्या ? क्यो यह अधिक चर्चा का विषय बन गया कि संयुक्त राष्ट्रसघ से लेकर ग्रामटिकाओ तक इसकी चर्चा होने लगी तथा उसके प्रदूषण के भय से कम्पन प्रारम्भ हो गया।

पर्यावरण—परि+आ+वरण अर्थात् इस सम्पूर्ण दृश्य तथा अदृश्य जगत को सब ओर से आवृत करने वाला। वैसे तो पर्यावरक ब्रह्म ही है, क्योकि वही एकमात्र ही इस सम्पूर्ण जगत को एक पाद मे धारण किये हुए है '(त्रिपाद् ऊर्ध्व दिवि)" । परन्तु यहाँ हमारा विचारणीय ब्रह्म न होकर पृथ्वी को प्रभावित करने वाले प्रकृतितत्व है। इसलिये सम्पूर्ण ब्रह्माण्ड इसके अध्ययन का विषय है। यह सम्पूर्ण ब्रह्माण्ड पचतत्वो से बना है, अतः पञ्चतत्व इसके कारण है। "सत्व-रजस्तमसा साम्यावस्था प्रकृति." के अनुसार प्रकृति के तत्वो की साम्यावस्था ही प्रकृति है। और यह प्रकृति जीवजगत का कारण है। परन्तु जब इस साम्यावस्था मे वैषम्य उत्पन्न होता है, कोई प्राकृतिक या कृत्रिम व्यवधान इसमे उपस्थित होता है, तो यह जीवनदायिनी प्रकृति जीवन को समाप्त करने का साधन हो जाती है। यह असाम्य, आकाश मे ध्वनि के माध्यम से, वायु मे विभिन्न गैसीय तत्वो के उच्चावच होने से, आग्नेय तत्व सूर्यादि से आने वाली किरणों के अल्प या तीव्र अथवा हानिकारक तत्वो के रूप मे पृथ्वी तक पहुँचने से, जलों के बहुत बरसने, न बरसने या क्षार, अम्ल इत्यादि से प्रदूषित होकर पृथ्वी पर असने से यह पार्थिव जगत प्रभावित हो जाता है। और यह प्रभाव हमे वनस्पतियो, प्राणियो, रोगो या प्राकृतिक उपद्रवों इत्यादि के रूप में दिखाई देता है। पृथ्वी पर भी यह प्रभाव वातावरण को दूषित करके फैलता है। विविध प्राणी विशेषरूप से मनुष्य इस सन्तुलन को बिगाड़ने मे महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रखते हैं।

वैदिक परिप्रेक्ष्य मे विचार करने पर यह तथ्य स्पष्ट रूप से विदित होता है कि पर्यावरण प्रदूषण तो समस्या है ही नही। क्योकि वेदो को सृष्टि के आरम्भ मे मानने पर उस समय पूर्ण व्यवस्थित वातावरण था। उसमे किसी प्रकार का दोष उत्पन्न होने का अवकाश ही नही था। सर्वत्र दैवीय पर्यावरण था। वृक्ष, वनस्पतियो, जल, वायु, सूर्य, चन्द्र तथा सभी जीव उस वातावरण मे शुद्ध रूप मे थे। ऋषियो को प्राप्त यह ज्ञान मनुष्य को सुखसाधन सम्पन्न एव व्यवस्थित समाज के साथ हो धन-धान्य एव रोग-शोकादि को दूर करने का उपाय भी बताता है। ऋषियो ने विचार किया और इस दैवीय पर्यावरण को बनाये रखने के लिए साधन के रूप मे यज्ञ को चुना।

नवनवेषोन्मुखी प्रज्ञा के धनी उन मन्त्रद्रष्टा ऋषियो ने अनुभव किया कि जीवो द्वारा इस पृथ्वी को मल-मूत्रादि के द्वारा, वायु एव अन्तरिक्ष को श्वास-प्रश्वास एव अन्य दुर्गन्धयुक्त क्रियाओं द्वारा, जलो को नाना कारणों से प्रदूषित कर देने से जीवन समाप्त हो जायेगा। अत इन्होने सम्पूर्ण जगत मे व्यापनशील विष्णुरूप यज्ञ[1] के द्वारा इन सभी देवो को सन्तुष्ट एव तृप्त करने का उपाय खोज निकाला। यज्ञ से उठता हुआ सुगन्धित धूम्र अन्तरिक्ष से आगे बढ़कर द्युलोक तक पहुँच जाता है। यह धूम्र वायु को शुद्ध करके मेघो के माध्यम से जल को पवित्र कर देता है। शुद्ध जल पृथ्वी के मलो को धोकर स्वच्छ करते है और पर्जन्य पिता के बरसने से यह भूमिमाता सस्यशालिनी होकर नाना वृक्षो, वनस्पतियो एव जीवो को अपने गर्भ से बाहर प्रकट कर देती है।[2] यज्ञ के इसी विष्णुरूप की पुराणकारों ने एक भव्य कल्पना की वह विष्णु "त्रिधानिदधेपदम्" तीनों लोकों को नाप लेने वाला है। वह अन्त में जलो मे शान्त होकर जल मे शयन करने वाला शेषशायी है। विष्णु की इस सर्वव्यापकता को हम पर्यावरण की सर्वव्यापकता कह सकते हैं।

इस यज्ञ को श्रेष्ठतम कर्म कहा गया।[3] दूसरे शब्दों में जीओ और जीने दो का सिद्धान्त जीवन के हर क्षेत्र मे लागू करना हो यज्ञ है। "आत्मनः प्रतिकूलानि परेषां न समाचरेत" यह जीवन का सबका अधिकार तभी सुरक्षित

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१. यज्ञो वै विष्णुः।

२. माता भूमिः पुत्रोऽहं पृथिव्याः। पर्जन्यपिता स उनः पिपर्तु॥ अथर्व–१२/१/१२॥

३. यज्ञो वै श्रेष्ठतमयकर्म।"

रखा जा सकता है जब व्यक्ति देवऋण से उऋण होने का निरन्तर प्रयास करते रहे ।—अर्थात् यज्ञ के द्वारा पर्यावरण को सुरक्षित रखना ही श्रेष्ठतम कर्म है। इस प्रकार सम्पूर्ण प्राणियो का जीवनरक्षक होने से यज्ञ को प्रजापति कहा गया है। निघण्टु मे यज्ञ के वाचक शब्दो मे प्रजापति भी पढा गया है यह प्रजारक्षण तभी सम्भव है जब हानिकारक तत्वो को दूर किया जाता रहे।

यज्ञ के माध्यम से यह कर्म भी सुगमता से होता है। यज्ञ मे डाला हुआ पदार्थ सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्म (माइक्रोफाइन्ड) होकर सब जगह फैल जाता है। जीवन एव दीप्तिकारक घृत के साथ विभिन्न प्रकार की औषधिया अपने गुणों के द्वारा पर्यावरण को सुगन्धित एव पवित्र कर देती हैं। "यस्ते गन्ध पृथिवि सम्बभूव य बिभ्रत्योषधयो यमाप" । अथर्व० १२-१-२२ । अथर्व० ८-३७ मे अजशृङ्गि, गूगल, पीला, नलदी, औक्षगन्धि इत्यादि के द्वारा कृमिनाश की चर्चा है। प्रश्न उठता है कि यज्ञ कीटाणुनाश कसे करता है। यदि हम किसी कीटाणु को विकसित (कल्चर) करके यज्ञ धूम मे रखते है तो वह मरता नही है यदि उसे D D T. या अन्य विषैले द्रव्य मे रख देते है तो वह समाप्त हो जाता है । परन्तु वह विषद्रव्य वातावरण मे फलकर पर्यावरण को, शरीर में जाकर रोगाणुओं के साथ ही अन्य लाभकारी कीटाणुओ को भी क्षति पहुँचाता है, परिणामत शरीर दुर्बलता एव अन्य रोगो से ग्रसित हो जाता है । इसको समझने के लिए हम यदि मलेरिया के रोगाणु को कुनोन मे डुबा दे तो वह मर जायेगा परन्तु यदि उसे मलेरिया की आयुर्वेदिक औषधि सुदर्शन चूर्ण के द्रव मे डुबा दे तो शायद वह नही मरेगा । आयुर्वेदिक औषध शरीर मे ऐसा वातावरण, ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ या ऐसी शक्ति उत्पन्न कर देती है कि रोगाणु विकसित नही हो पाता परिणामत बिना किसी दोष के रोगाणु समाप्त हो जाते है। यही स्थिति यज्ञ कीटाणुओ के बारे में है।

अग्नि द्वारा कृमियो को नष्ट करने के बहुत से प्रमाण हमे वेदो में उपलब्ध होते हैं । "अग्नी रक्षांसि सेधति शुक्रशोचिरमर्त्य" (अथर्व० १–२८–१) "प्रति दह यातुधानान्प्रति देव किमीदिन." (अथर्व० १–२८–२) "प्रत्युष्टरक्ष प्रत्युष्टा अरातय निष्टप्ता रक्ष. निष्टप्ता अरातय" (यजु० १-७) अथर्ववेद में तो इस प्रकार के बहुत से सूक्त हमे प्राप्त होते हैं। ये कीटाणु पृथिवी से द्युलोक तक फैले हुए हैं (अथर्व० ४–२०–६) का मन्त्र इसे स्पष्ट कर रहा है।

यज्ञ न केवल पर्यावरण को शुद्ध करता है अपितु वह धन-धान्य एवं पुष्टि भी प्रदान करता है । "यज्ञाद्भवति पर्जन्य प्रर्जन्यादन्नसंभव अन्नाद्

भवन्ति भूतानि" तथा "भूम्याम् देवेभ्योददति यज्ञं हव्यमरंकृतम् । भूम्याम् मनुष्या जीवन्ति स्वध्यान्नेन मर्त्या." (अथर्व० १२-१-२२) इस प्रकार यज्ञ इस पर्यावरण को अर्थात् प्रकृति एव जीवों के क्रमिक नैरन्तर्य को बनाये रखने का साधन बना ।

इस पृथिवीस्थ दोष को सुधारने का महत्वपूर्ण कार्य वृक्ष बड़ी सहजता से करते है । वर्तमान कल-कारखानो से निकलने वाले वायवीय प्रदूषण के विष को ये शिव की भांति पी जाते हैं। पत्तियां वायु मे मिले प्रदूषक पदार्थों के सूक्ष्मकणो को रोक और सोख लेती हैं । उदाहरणार्थ जगल जलेबी पत्थर के कोयले से उत्पन्न धुएँ की सान्द्रता मे २७% की कमी और सल्फरडायाक्साइड की सान्द्रता मे ८०% की कमी करने मे समर्थ पाया गया । यदि सडको एव मकानों के मध्य दस मीटर चौडी एव ६ मीटर ऊँची हरित पट्टिका का विकास किया जाय तो कार्बन मोनोक्साइड की मात्रा मे ४४% की कमी हो सकती है । भारत सरकार ने इस देश के वातावरण को देखते हुए पर्वतीय क्षेत्रो मे ६०% भूमि पर तथा मैदानो मे न्यूनतम ३३% भूमि पर वृक्षों की अनिवार्यता घोषित की। परन्तु वर्तमान मे यह स्थिति पर्वतो पर २५% तथा मैदानो मे १७% मात्र रह गये है जबकि प्रदूषण पहले की अपेक्षा लगभग दो गुणा हो गया है । अथर्व वेद कहता है कि "यस्याम् वृक्षा वानस्पत्या ध्रुवास्तिष्ठन्ति विश्वहा। पृथिवी विश्वधायस धृतामच्छा वदामसि" (१२-१-२७) अर्थात् जिस भूमि मे वृक्ष एव वनस्पतियाँ सदा खडी रहती है वह भूमि विश्व के समस्त जनो का भरण पोषण करने मे समर्थ होती है । इसी प्रकार ऊचे-ऊँचे बर्फ से ढकी चोटियो वाले पर्वत एव वनो से आच्छादित तलहटियो मे युक्त भूमि सबको सुख देती है । "गिरयस्ते पर्वताहिमवन्तारण्यते पृथिवीस्योनमस्तु" (अथर्व० १२-१-११) भूमि के ऊँचे नीचे तथा समतल सभी क्षेत्र वृक्षो एव वनस्पतियो से युक्त होने चाहिएँ । "यस्या उद्वत प्रवतः समवहु । नाना वीर्याओषधोर्याविभर्तिपृथिवी न. प्रथता शध्यता न" (अथर्व० १२-१-२) इसके अतिरिक्त बहुत सी वनस्पतियाँ कीटाणुनाशक भी होती है। "वनस्पति रक्ष पिशाचाँअपबाधमान." (अथर्व० १२-३-१५) सरसो, तुलसी, पीपल, जैसे पेड-पौधे स्पष्ट ही कृमिघ्न हैं। (अथर्व० २-६-१) मे तो स्पष्ट रूप से प्रार्थना की गई है कि हे वनस्पति जीवो के इस लोक को उन्नतिशील बनाओ (वनस्पते जीवाना लोकमुन्नय) ।

यजुर्वेद मे "वृक्षाणां पतये नम." कहकर वृक्षो की रक्षा करने वालों के लिए सत्कार प्रदर्शित किया गया है तो (अथर्व० २-८-५ मे) 'नमः

क्षेत्रस्य पतये वीरुत" कहकर नम्र भाव धारण किया गया है। सूक्त के सूक्त वनस्पतियों को समर्पित हैं। अथर्व० ८-७ मे इन वनस्पतियों का वर्गीकरण भी किया गया है। आयुर्वेद में रोग निवारण के लिए ली जाने वाली वनस्पति कब, कैसे, किसके द्वारा उखाड़ी जाये इसकी भी चर्चा की गई है जिससे कोई अभद्र पुरुष उस वनस्पति का वंश ही नाश न कर दे। अथर्व० १-३४-१ मे भी "मधुनात्वाखनामसि" कहकर इस ओर संकेत किया गया है। ऋग्वेद का अरण्यानी सूक्त वनों के रक्षण के लिए प्रेरणादायी है। इन अरण्यो के बल पर ही यह सस्कृति पल्लवित और पुष्पित होती रही। जिस सस्कृति के मानने वालो की १०० मे से लगभग ८० वर्ष की आयु वन मे ही व्यतीत होती है उससे अधिक वनो की क्या प्रशसा की जा सकती है। पीपल, बरगद, तुलसी इत्यादि वृक्षो का पूजन आज भी इस देश में दिखायी देता है।

अग्नि पुराण के अनुसार "यदि कोई व्यक्ति अपने वंश, धन और सुख में वृद्धि की कामना करता है तो वह फल-फूल वाले किसी वृक्ष को न काटे। जो व्यक्ति दस कुँए खुदवाता है उसे एक तालाब खुदवाने का पुण्य मिलता है। दस तालाब खुदवाने वाले को एक झील खुदवाने का पुण्य मिलता है। दस झीले खुदवाने वाला व्यक्ति एक देशभक्त उत्पन्न करने का पुण्य प्राप्त करता है। और दस देशभक्त उत्पन्न करने का पुण्य एक वृक्ष लगाने से कम है।" मत्स्य पुराण के अनुसार "एक वृक्ष का आरोपण दस पुत्रों के बराबर है।" वराह पुराण कहता है कि "पचाम्र वापी नरक न याति" अर्थात् पाच आम के वृक्ष लगाने वाला कभी नर्क नही जाता। पद्म पुराण के अनुसार "जो मनुष्य सड़क के किनारे छायादार वृक्ष लगाता है वह स्वर्ग मे उतने ही समय तक सुख भोगता है जितने समय तक वह वृक्ष फलता फूलता रहता है।" इन कथनो के बारे मे दार्शनिक रूप से हमारा मत भिन्न तो हो सकता है परन्तु वृक्षो को जो महत्व हमारे पूर्वजो ने दिया था उसमें किसी प्रकार का अनौचित्य नहीं है।

हमारा सारा ही चिकित्साशास्त्र जो आयुर्वेद के नाम से जाना जाता है, औषधियो एव वनस्पतियो पर निर्भर है। हमने उसके महत्व को देखते हुए उसे "उपवेद के रूप मे स्वीकार किया। वनस्पतियों का, उनकी रक्षा का गुणगान भी बहुत हुआ। परन्तु वेदों के प्रादुर्भाव से अब तक लाखो करोडो वर्ष का इतिहास हमे उपलब्ध नही है। परन्तु बीच-बीच की किन्ही घटनाओ से यह स्पष्ट विदित होता है कि हमने उन चेतावनियों को सुना नही, सुना भी तो उसे असली जामा नही पहनाया।

हमारे साहित्य मे यहाँ तक कि विश्व साहित्य में भी अवर्षण की अनेक घटनाये अंकित हैं। यास्क ने भी निरुक्त द्वितीय अध्याय के तृतीयपाद में

"द्वादश वर्षाणि देवो न ववर्ष" कहा है । हमारे ग्रामों के दादो, नानियो की कहानियो मे भी १२ वर्ष तक वर्षा न होना एक सामान्य सी बात हो गई थी। विश्व मे अनेक बडे-बडे मरुस्थल इस बात के प्रमाण है कि मनुष्य जाति ने वनो को, उनके स्वाभाविक रूप को बिगाड दिया परिणामत प्राकृतिक दण्ड हमें मिला। आज भी दिल्ली की ओर बढते रेगिस्तान के कदमो की चेतावनी हमारे वैज्ञानिक देते आ रहे हैं। पर एक दूसरा भी रेगिस्तान फैल रहा है जो हिमालय से उतरकर आ रहा है। पर्वतों से उतरता पानी पेडो के कट जाने से भूमि को तोड़ता फोड़ता नदियो की गहराई को कम कर देता है, परिणामत: वह जीवनदायी जल बाढ़ के रूप में मृत्यु की विभिषिका के रूप मे हमारे सामने है और प्रतिवर्ष नदिया अपने उदर को चौडा करती जा रही हैं। उनमे गाव, शहर, सभ्यता, संस्कृति सब कुछ समाप्त होता जा रहा है । और पीछे रह जाते हैं मुँह चिढाते से रेत की टीले । अथर्व० ६-६१-२ मे "इयं शुष्मेभिर्बिसखा इवारुजत्सानु गिरीणा तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः पारावतघ्निमवसे सुवृक्तिभिः सरस्वती माविवासेम धीतिभि. ।" इस मन्त्र मे सरस्वती नदी द्वारा पहाडो की चोटियो को तोडने की चर्चा है । जब सरस्वती नदी विनशन् अर्थात कुरुक्षेत्र मे समुद्र से मिलकर उस समुद्र को रेत से भर रही थी। उसी भयकर बाढ की स्मृति मनु के जलप्लावन की कथा एवं काल रहा होगा। परन्तु विश्व के विभिन्न द्वीपो महाद्वीपो एवं सभ्यता एव संस्कृतियो मे जाने वाली इस कथा से भी मनुष्य जाति ने कोई सबक नही सीखा।

वनो की रक्षा वास्तव मे मनुष्य नही करता वह तो उसका विनाश एव उपभोग ही करता है । इसका श्रेय तो वन्य जीवों को ही जाता है। "येत आरण्या.पशवो मृगा वने हिताः सिंहा व्याघ्रा पुरुषादश्चरन्ति । उलवृकपृथिवि दुच्छुनामित ऋक्षीका रक्षो अपबाधयास्मत ।" अथर्व० १२-२-४९ मनुष्यो को खा जाने वाले इन वन्य पशुओ के कारण मनुष्य इन वनो से दूर ही रहते हैं परिणामस्वरूप वन अपने स्वाभाविक रूप मे विकसित होते है। एक विचारधारा के अनुसार राजस्थान के रेगिस्तान बनने का कारण यह बताया जाता है कि वहाँ के मनुष्यो ने पराक्रम प्रदर्शन के लिए वन्य पशुओ का विशेषत. शेर चीतो का वध कर दिया, उससे हरिण आदि वनस्पतियों पर जीवित रहने वाले जीवो की सख्या बढी तब वन विकास रुक गया। उन पशुओ के भी न रहने पर पेड़ो के पत्ते गिरने से ऊपर से गिरने वाला बीज भूमि तक नही पहुच सका और नये पेड नही उग सके। हरिद्वार से उत्तर मे स्थित रायवाला के जगलो के वन्य पशुओ के मार दिये जाने से वहाँ के साल वन मे नये पौधे नही उग रहे हैं । क्योकि साल का बीज

१० दिन तक यदि भूमि तक नही पहुंचेगा तो उसको अंकुरणक्षमता समाप्त हो जाती है। पत्तो के गिर जाने एवं उसकी तह बन जाने से यह प्रक्रिया रुक गई।

जीवन तो वस्तुत है ही जीव और वन। वृक्ष भूमि पर नमी बनाकर बादलो को बरसने के लिए प्रेरित करते है, और जडों के माध्यम से जल को भूमि मे ले जाकर (वाटर लेवल) जलस्तर को बनाये रखते हैं। और भूमि के अपरदन को रोकते है। भूमि के जिस स्तर को बनाने मे प्रकृति को हजारों वर्ष लगते हे' पेड न होने पर वह कुछ मिनट मे ही नष्ट हो सकता है। तब जीवन अर्थात् जल को प्रवाहित करने वाली ये नदिया मातृत्व छोड़कर विनाशकारी रुद्र रूप धारण कर लेती है।

अथर्व वेद के एक मन्त्र मे प्रार्थना की गई है कि "यत् ते भूमे विखनामि क्षिप्रं तदपिरोहतु। माते मर्म विमृग्वरी माते हृदयमर्पिवम्।" (अथर्व० १२-२-३५) हे भूमि माता मै जो तुम्हे हानि पहचाता हूँ शीघ्र ही वह क्षतिपूर्ति हो जावे, हम अत्यधिक गहराई तक (कोयला इत्यादि) खोदने मे सावधानी रखे क्योकि यह पृथिवी अन्वेषण योग्य है उसे व्यर्थ खोदकर उसकी रोहण शक्ति को नष्ट न करे। उसे व्यर्थ न खोदें, अन्यथा अपरदन का भय बना रहेगा। इसलिए ब्रह्मोपनिषद् मे कहा गया है कि "रक्षया प्रकृति पातु लोका"।

प्रकृति मे पृथिवी की अपेक्षा जल की मात्रा कई गुनी है। परन्तु वह खारा जल किसी काम नही आ सकता। जल का एक नाम ही जीवन है पर यह जीवनदायी जल आज विषैला हो गया है। जो दैवीय जल आकाश से बरसता है उसका भी हम केवल ४% ही उपयोग कर पाते हे शेष सब हमारा ही विनाश करता हुआ समुद्र मे जा मिलता है। हमारा वातावरण स्वच्छ होगा तभी ऊपर से बरसने वाले जल भी स्वच्छ होगे। वेद कहता है "यासा देवादिवि कृण्वन्ति भक्ष या अन्तरिक्षे बहुधा भवन्ति। या अग्नि गर्भदाधरे सुवर्णस्तान आपशं स्योनाभवन्तु" (अथर्व० १-३३-३)। द्यु एवं विद्युत अन्तरिक्ष मे मेघों के रूप में रहने वाले जल, जो कि विद्युत को अपने गर्भ मे धारण करते हैं वे उत्तम वर्ण या स्वण के समान तेजयुक्त जल, हमारे लिए सुखदायक हों।

वेदो मे विशेषतः अथर्व० मे जलचिकित्सा की भी बहुत चर्चा है "अप्सु भेषजम्" "अपो यायामि भेषजम्" 'अन्तर्विश्वानि भेषजः' 'जलापभेषजः,

इत्यादि बहुत से वाक्य उपलब्ध होते हैं। हमारे तथा हमारे पशुओं के लिए शुद्ध जल उपलब्ध हो। यह जल की शुद्धता भी हमें उसके प्रदूषित होने से रोके जाने का उपदेश देती है।

सूर्य से तो रोगनाश एवं कीटाणुनाश दोनों की प्रार्थना की गई है "सूर्यंकृणोतु भेषजम्" (अथर्व० ६-८३-१) हमारे घर ऐसे हो जहाँ धूप खुलकर आती हो "तावा वास्तून्युरमसिगमध्यै यत्र गावो भूरि शृगा अयास."। ऋग्० १-१५४-५" पोलिया जैसे रोगो की तो यह अचूक औषध है। 'अनुसूर्यमुदयतांमहृदयोतो हरिमा-चते । भो रोहितस्य वर्णेन तेनत्वा परिदध्मसि" (अथर्व० १-२२-१) आदि। अग्नि से भी अनेक स्थानो पर कीटाणु नाश को कहा गया हैं। इस प्रकार हम देखते हे कि पञ्चतत्वों के प्रदूषण से उत्पन्न होने वाले रोग और उनके कारणो को दूर करने की प्राथना की गई है । इन सबमे द्युलोक की चर्चा तो है पर कहीं भी ध्वनि या उससे सम्बन्धित रोगशोकादि की चर्चा नही हे।

प्रसिद्ध शान्ति पाठ तथा बहुत से मन्त्रों मे पर्यावरण के अन्तर्गत आने वाले पदार्थों से शान्ति को कामना की गई है । "शान्ताद्यौशान्ता पृथिवी शान्तमिदमुर्वन्तरिक्षं । शान्ता उदन्वतोरापः शान्तान सन्त्वोषधी." अथर्व० १९-९-१ । अन्यत्र प्रार्थना को गई है कि "य रेव ससृजेघोर तेरेव शान्तिरस्तुन." अथर्व० १-९९-५ । यह वास्तव मे पर्यावरण प्रदूषण रोकने का मूल मन्त्र है।

अन्त मे यह स्पष्ट कर देना बहुत जरूरी है कि प्रदूषण के लिए प्राय. जनसंख्या को उत्तरदायी माना जाता है कि बढती जनसंख्या के लिए औद्योगीकरण बढता है, उससे प्रदूषण बढता है । किन्तु अनेक तथा-कथित विकसित, पर कम जनसख्या वाले देशो मे प्रदूषण अधिक है। उसका कारण है प्रतिव्यक्ति की आवश्यकता का अधिक होना, तृष्णा एव भोगवादी संस्कृति । अतः हमारे ऋषियो ने अपरिग्रह को तथा त्याग को वरीयता दी।

पूर्व प्रधानमन्त्री इन्दिरा गाधी ने कहा था कि यह बड़े खेद की बात है कि "सभी देशों मे उन्नति का अर्थ प्रकृति पर आक्रमण समझा जाने लगा है............जरूरत इस बात की है कि रहन-सहन का स्तर भी सुधरे और लोगों को जो कुछ भो विरासत मे मिला है उसमें कोई फर्क न आये और न प्रकृति के सौन्दर्य, ताजगी और स्वच्छता मे । जो हमारे जीवन के लिए बहुत जरुरी है, कोई कमी आये ।

—इदं नम ऋषिभ्यः पूर्वजेभ्यः पूर्वेभ्यः पथिकृद्भ्यः । अथर्व० १८-२-२१ ॥

ऊर्जा संसाधनों की खोज

— एच० सी० ग्रोवर

इतिहास गवाह है कि प्रारम्भ मे पशु और लकडी हमारी ऊर्जा के आधार थे और लकडी के स्थान पर कोयला, कोयले की जगह तेल और गैस को लेने मे आधी शती के लगभग समय लगा। लेकिन वर्तमान मे प्रचलित ऊर्जा का स्थान अन्य स्रोत शीघ्र ही लेगे ऐसी आशा की जाती है। ऐसा नही हो पाया तो समूचा विश्व सकटग्रस्त हो जायेगा।

प्रारम्भ मे लकडी से कोयला और तेल तथा गैस के जब बदलाव हुए थे तब परिस्थितियाँ अनुकूल थी। तात्पर्य यह कि आर्थिक सवृद्धि की गति तेज थी और ऊर्जा के नए स्रोतो की उत्पादन लागत भी कम आ रही थी। पर अब जो प्रणालियाँ अपनायी जाएँगी, वे काफी महँगी पड़ेगी।

बढती जरूरते और घटते संसाधन—

पृथ्वी के लगभग ५०० करोड लोग लगभग १०,०००,०००,०००,००० वाट (१० टेरावाट) अथवा $१०^{१३}$ वाट ऊर्जा का प्रयोग करते हैं। ऊर्जा की वर्तमान खपत २.२ किलोवाट घण्टा प्रतिवर्ष प्रति व्यक्ति है पर सारी दुनियाँ मे यह दर समान नही है।

हमारी वर्तमान आवश्यकताएँ और भविष्य का आकलन—

१. जीवाश्म ईंधन (Fossil Fuel)—

जीवाश्म ईंधन के मुख्य चार स्रोत हैं— कोयला, तेल, प्राकृतिक गैस, तेल शिलाएँ तथा डामर बालू। अब तक सारा विश्व लगभग १३० गिगाटन (१३०×१०^{९} टन) कोयला प्रयुक्त कर चुका है। एक वैज्ञानिक अनुमान के अनुसार सारी दुनियाँ मे खानो से निकाला जा सकने वाला ज्ञात कोयला लगभग ६०० गिगाटन (६००×१०^{९} टन) है जो अब तक प्रयोग किए जा चुके कोयले का लगभग ४ गुना है। हम प्रतिवर्ष (विश्व भरमे) २६ गिगाटन (२६×१०^{९} टन) कोयला इस्तेमाल करते हैं।

आसानी से ढोए जा सकने के कारण तेल अत्यन्त उपयोगी जीवाश्म ईंधन है। हम प्रतिवर्ष ३ गिगाटन (३ × १०⁹ टन; तेल काम मे ला रहे हैं। विश्व में तेल के प्रमाणित भण्डार लगभग ८८.४ गिगाटन (८८.४ × १०⁹ टन)के बराबर हैं। हम प्रतिवर्ष ५ गिगाटन (५ × १०⁹ टन) की दर से नये भण्डारो का पता लगा रहे हैं। एक अनुमान के अनुसार ३०० गिगाटन (३०० × १०⁹ टन) तेल प्राप्त किया जा सकता है।

तेल की अपेक्षा प्राकृतिक गैस की अधिक लम्बे समय तक चलने की सम्भावना है। अब तक हम गैस के ज्ञात भण्डारो का ४० प्रतिशत उपयोग मे ला चुके हैं।

२ नाभिकीय ऊर्जा (Nuclear Energy)

जब द्रव्य को ऊर्जा मे बदला जाता है तो नाभिकीय ऊर्जा उत्पन्न होती है। दो छोटे नाभिको को आपस मे सगलित करके भारी नाभिक का निर्माण करके (Nuclear fusion) ऊर्जा प्राप्त की जा सकती है।

यह जटिल प्रक्रियाएँ रिएक्टरो मे की जाती हैं। वर्तमान मे तीन तरह के रिएक्टर ज्ञात है।

पहले ताप रिएक्टर का परीक्षण शिकागो विश्वविद्यालय मे १९४२ मे किया गया था। तब से आज तक २०० से अधिक ताप रिएक्टर स्थापित किए जा चुके हैं जिनकी कुल उत्पादनक्षमता लगभग १२०,००० मेगावाट (१२०,००० × १०⁶ वाट) है जो विश्व के विद्युत उत्पादन का ६% है।

प्रजनक रिएक्टरो का अभी विकास होना है। परीक्षण के तौर पर ऐसे कई रिएक्टर चलाए जा रहे है पर व्यावसायिक स्तर पर किसी से भी बिजली नही पैदा की जा रही है।

सग्लन रिएक्टर हाइड्रोजनो के दो समस्थानिको—ड्यूटोरियम और ट्रीटियम के आपसी सग्लन (fusion) से चलेंगे जिनमे हीलियम का भारी नाभिक बनता है और ऊर्जा विमुक्त होती है। इन ईधनो का कोई सकट नही है क्योकि सागरो के जल से भारी मात्रा मे प्राप्त ड्यूटीरियम तथा लीथियम को सम्लन रिएक्टरो मे ही न्यूट्रान कणो की बौछार से ट्रीटियम प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। यह रिएक्टर हाइड्रोजन बम की प्रक्रिया जैसा है।

३. भू-तापीय ऊर्जा (Geothermal Energy)

भू–उष्मा का उपयोग सैकडो वर्षों से किया जा रहा है। आज लगभग २० भू–तापीय विद्युत सयत्र चलाए जा रहे हैं जिनकी क्षमता कुछ मेगावाट (१०⁶ वाट) से लेकर

५०० मेगावाट (५०० × $१०^६$ वाट) तक है और वे अब कुल मिलाकर लगभग १.५ गिगा-वाट (१ ५ × $१०^९$ वाट) ऊर्जा उत्पन्न करते हैं। भू-तापीय ऊर्जा का उपयोग केवल वहीं सम्भव है जहाँ यह धरती की सतह के काफी निकट उपलब्ध हो। ज्वालामुखी अथवा प्राय. भूकम्प आने वाले क्षेत्रो मे यह अधिक होती है।

४ ज्वार शक्ति (Tidal Power)

यह शक्ति ससार के ज्वारों मे लगभग ३ टेरावाट (३ × $१०^{१२}$ वाट) है। तथापि ससार के कुछ ही स्थानों मे इस ऊर्जा को हासिल करना सस्ता है। ये वही स्थान हो सकते है जहाँ उच्च ज्वार उठते है।

५. वायु शक्ति (Wind Energy)

पृथ्वी पर बहने वाली वायु मे लगभग २७०० टेरावाट (२७०० × $१०^{१२}$ वाट) ऊर्जा होती है। वायु ऊर्जा छोटे पैमाने पर स्थानीय आवश्यकताओ के लिए उपयोगी होती है किन्तु उसके योगदान को महत्त्वपूर्ण बनाने के लिए १०० किलोवाट (१०० × $१०^३$ वाट) और कई मेगावाट ($१०^६$ वाट) के बीच के यन्त्रो का विकास करना पड़ेगा। ऐसे यन्त्रो का अभी परीक्षण किया जा रहा है।

वायुनिहित २७०० टेरावाट (२७०० × $१०^{१२}$ वाट) शक्ति मे से केवल एक चौथाई शक्ति ही धरातल के ऊपर प्रथम १०० मीटर मे उपलब्ध है। केवल भू-क्षेत्रो तथा अपरिहार्य क्षमताओ को ध्यान मे रखते हुए यदि सभी महाद्वीपो मे सब जगह वायु सयत्र बनाए जाएँ तो अधिक से अधिक ४० टेरावाट (४० $१०^{१२}$ वाट) ऊर्जा उपलब्ध होगी।

यद्यपि सौर ऊर्जा बहुत विसरित होती है फिर भी यह बहुत उपयोगी है। इसका उपयोग घरेलु कामो, फसल सुखाने, वातानुकूलन स्थान, तापन, पानी निकालने, विलवणी-करण (De-solination) के लिए और उच्च तापमान तथा विद्युत दोनो के उत्पादन के लिए किया जा सकता है।

निष्कर्ष—

हम यही कह सकते हैं कि आने वाले दशको या नई सदी मै कोई ऐसा शक्तिस्रोत नही ढूँढा जा सकता जो ऊर्जा समस्या का सफल निदान प्रस्तुत कर सके। अतः ऊर्जा की समस्या का निपटान हमे ऊर्जा के सभी ज्ञात-अज्ञात स्रोतो से करना होगा जो प्रौद्योगिकियाँ विकसित की जा चुकी हैं वे तो हमारे इस्तेमाल मे आएँगी ही, साथ ही नए स्रोतो की ओर भी हमे मुखातिब होना पड़ेगा जो त्राण का मार्ग सुझा सके। ऊर्जा सकट जैसी चुनौती को समय रहते स्वीकारना होगा। विलम्ब करना हमारे लिए घातक ही होगा।

वृक्ष-माहात्म्य

डा॰ निगम शर्मा

जीवन के लिए वृक्ष बहुत उपयोगी हैं, अतः इन्हे वृक्ष (वरण के योग्य) कहा गया है। 'महीरुह' भी वृक्ष के लिए कहा गया अर्थात् इन्हे स्वच्छन्द रूप मे पृथ्वी पर बढने-रोहण करने के लिए उपयुक्त वातावरण दिया जाय। वन(जल) के पालक-रक्षक होने से वृक्ष (विशेष) को वनस्पति कहते हैं। नाना प्रकार से शाखा-प्रतान मे ये फैलते हैं अत इन्हे 'शाखी' कहा गया है। हमारे ऋषियो को यह पता था कि कुछ वृक्ष मास खाते हैं अत ऐसे वृक्ष पलाश (पल माम, आश = खाने वाले) कहलाते हैं। पैर से पानी पीने के कारण वृक्ष को पादप कहा जाता है। विट (धूर्त, जुवारी) लोग जहाँ पर पान (मदिरा) करते, समाज-उत्सव करते हैं, ऐसे वृक्ष विटप (विटो की पान-भूमि) कहलाते हैं। नौका-जलयान आदि मे प्रमुख साधन होने मे वृक्ष को तरु कहा गया है (तरत्यनेन)। पक्षी यहा पर आकर कोलाहल करते है अत इन्हे कुट (कौति पक्ष्यत्र), वायु के द्वारा वृक्ष स्पन्दन करते है अत इन्हे साल (सलति वायुना); द्रवित होने से वृक्ष को द्रु या द्रुम बोलते हैं। ओष = दीप्ति जिसमे रहे, उसे औषधि कहते हैं (ओषोऽत्र धीयेते)। 'औषधि फलपाकान्ता' कहकर बताया गया है कि पाकान्त होने पर औषधि सूख जाती है। अन = शकट (छकडा, रथ, यान) के वेग को रोक देने से वृक्ष अनोकह कहलाता है। वृक्ष को दारु भी कहते हैं क्योंकि आरा से चिकना विदारण करके किवाड आदि के काम आता है। नाना प्रकार से औषधियों मे काम आने के कारण कुछ विष-वृक्ष भी होते हैं।

पुराने समय मे वृक्षप्रेमी लोग अनेक प्रकार से वृक्ष लगाते थे। एक लाख आम के वन को लक्षाराम (लखाराव) कहा जाता था। इसी भाति कदली, खदिर, वंदर, प्लक्ष, वट, पीपल, शिरीष, निम्न, नीबू, केतकी आदि के वन लगाये जाते थे। इस प्रकार पुष्प-समृद्धि से युक्त कानन मे उसी प्रकार का मधु, मधुमक्खियो द्वारा सम्पन्न होता था। नीम का मधु, आम की मजरियो के मकरन्द से बना मधु, गुलाब, कमलपुष्प, केवडा आदि के काननो से निष्पन्न मधु अनेक औशधियो मे लाभप्रद उपचार है। कुछ ऐसे वृक्ष होते है जिनके अपक्व फल भी अचार, आसुत, औषधियो मे काम आते हैं। ऐसे वृक्षो को 'शलादु' कहा गया है। सूखे फल भी (द्राक्षा, मुनक्का, अनार, छुआरा, पिंडखजूर, नारियल) जिनके काम मे आवे ऐसे वृक्ष को 'वान' कहा जाता है।

प्रकाशक होने से वृक्ष का नाम काष्ठ, काष्ठा है। क्योंकि अपने नीले गहरे प्रकाश के कारण ही ये वृक्ष पहचाने जाते हैं (काष्ठ काशते)। लताओं में भी ज्योतिष्मती लताओं का वर्णन आता है। लक्ष्मण को नीरोग करने के लिए विशल्यकरणी, सावर्ण्यकरणी, सजीवनी लतायें लायी गयी थी जो ज्योति-पुञ्ज थीं। कहा जाता है कि ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी की घाटियों में अब भी ऐसी ज्योति बिखेरने वाली औषधियाँ तथा लतायें हैं। वृक्ष की लकड़ियों के लिए अब भी ईंधन (दीप्तौ) अथवा एध कहा जाता है। समिधा का भी यही अभिप्राय है कि जिनमे से चमक निकले। ऐसी औषधियों का वर्णन कुमारसम्भव मे श्री कालिदास ने भी किया है—

वनेचराणा वनितासखानां।
दरीगृहोत्सगनिषक्त भास।
भवन्ति यत्रौषधयो रजन्या—
मतैलपूरा सुरत—प्रदीपा॥ १–१०

सूर्य का तेज औषधियों मे सदा विद्यमान रहता है जो रात्रि के समय उजागर होता है। कुछ औषधियो-पुष्पो के पराग अधिक उन्मादक होते हैं, अत. 'मकरन्द' (मकरमपि द्यति) अर्थात् मगर को भी जो उत्तेजित करता है। पुराने समय मे इस प्रकार के भी वन लगाये जाते थे जहाँ से हर समय सुगन्धि फूटती रहती थी। मधु-वन, वृन्दावन, द्वैत-वन, प्रमद-वन आदि।

लकडी, किवाड, सजावट, चौकी, तेल, चटाई, पखे, खिलौने और सौन्दर्य प्रसाधन मे भी वृक्षो का महान् योगदान रहा है। जब-जब वृक्ष बहुत पुराने पड जाते थे, पत्तियां कम रह जाती थी, नाना प्रकार से रन्ध्र हो जाने से पक्षियो के कोटर बन जाते थे ऐसे जगलो को कटवा दिया जाता था। कठोरता, दृढता तथा किवाड आदि के लिए ऐसी लकडियाँ बहुत उपयोगी होती थी और ऐसे वन 'कोटरावन' कहलाते थे। पुन: इन पर कृषि होने लगती थी तथा अन्य स्थानो पर इसी प्रकार पुन. वृक्षारोपण कानन के रूप मे बना दिये जाते थे। कानन का अर्थ ही है जहाँ सुख से, जल से (केन सुखेन जलेन वाऽननं जीवन प्राणन यत्र) आनन्द प्राप्त हो। कानन वास्तव मे आनन्द का दर्पण (क का आनन) होता था।

वन, उपवन, कानन, आम्र-वण, बदरी वन, केतकी वन आदि अवसर तथा आवश्यकता के अनुरूप बनाये, सजाये जाते थे। जहाँ भगवान् की रमणीय चर्चा, व्याख्या हो, उन्हे अरण्य (अस्य = भगवत, रण्य-रमणीय कथन यत्र) कहा जाता है। भारत की सस्कृति को तो एक प्रकार से अरण्य-सस्कृति ही कहा गया है। ससार का जीवन उद्विग्न करने वाला है, पर अरण्य मे आत्म-शांति का चिररमणीय लाभ मिलता है। पुराने सभी राजा जीवन का परम और चरम आनन्द वन मे ही पाते थे। अनेक प्रकार के आध्यात्म

ग्रन्थों की रचना, आरण्यक नाम से सूचित करती है कि पुराने लोगो को अरण्य-जीवन कितना प्रिय और प्रशंसित था।

विष्णु धर्मोत्तर पुराण मे नाना प्रकार के पौधो, लताओ और वृक्षो के बारे मे आहार-विहार-मनोरजन आदि विषयो का विवरण दिया गया है। ऋषियों ने वृक्षो के प्रति अपने प्यार को आत्मसात् कराया। लता को शकुन्तला भगिनी कहकर पुकारती है। स्वय घड़े से सीचती है और लताये भी उसके विरह मे पत्रो के रूप मे अश्रुपात करती हैं। वृक्ष आशीर्वाद देते हैं और नाना प्रकार के राजोचित वस्त्रो से तथा आभूषणो से अपना अभिनन्दन पहुँचाते हैं। कण्व ऋषि के समान ही शरभग ऋषि वृक्षो के प्रति बहुत ही वात्सल्य रखते थे। उन्होंने मत्र-पवित्र अपने शरीर से अग्नि की पूजा की और अब ये वृक्ष ही उनके आश्रम मे अभ्यागत ऋषि-मुनियो की पुत्रों की भाति सेवा-उपचार करते थे।

छाया विनीताध्वपरिश्रमेषु
भूयिष्ठसम्भाव्य फलेष्वमीषु।
तस्यातिथीनामधुना सपर्या-
स्थिता सुपुत्रेष्विव पादपेषु॥ रघु० १३-४६

सिंह राजा दिलीप से कहता है – यह सामने जो देवदारु का तरु देखते हो, इसको साक्षात् शिवजी ने अपना पुत्र ही समझा है। स्कन्द की माता गौरी ने स्वय अपने स्तन-घट से इसे पय-पान कराया और पाला-पोसा है—

अमु पुर पश्यसि देवदारु
पुत्रीकृतोऽसौ वृषभध्वजेन।
यो हेमकुम्भ स्तन नि.सृताना
स्कन्दस्य मातु. पयसा रसज्ञ॥ रघु० २-३६

महाकवि बाण ने तपस्विनी महाश्वेता के तप का प्रभाव दिखाया है कि अभ्यागत चन्द्रापीड के लिये वृक्षो के नीचे से घूम आयी कि फलो से उसका कमण्डलू भर गया।

मेघदूत मे बताया गया है कि यक्ष लोग वृक्षो को बहुत प्यार करते थे फलत सभी ऋतुओ के वृक्ष सदा ही पुष्पित और फलग्राहि रहते थे।

पुराने समय मे देश सम्पन्न और श्री-सम्पदा से प्रसन्न था। लोग बड़े-बड़े विशाल कृत्रिम सरोवरो मे पद्म-वन, कुमुद-वन तैयार कराते थे। पुष्प-सागर से पुष्प लहराते तथा मन को पुलकित और निरुपद्रव करते थे। तीव्र घात करने वाली जल-वेला के वेग रोकने के लिए ताल-वन राष्ट्र की ओर से लगाया जाता था। यह प्रक्रिया आज भी आनन्द का सम्वर्धन दे सकती है।

अनिर्णीत स्वरूप

डा० जगदीशप्रसाद, मेरठ कालिज, मेरठ-250 002

शून्य की सतान—किसी परिमित (finite) राशि को किसी परिमित राशि से भाग देने पर जो भागफल प्राप्त होता है, वह एक परिमित राशि ही होता है। किसी परिमित राशि को शून्य (zero) से भाग देने पर प्राप्त भागफल क्या होगा ? इसे अनन्त (infinity) की सज्ञा दी गई है। अर्थात् अनन्त का जन्म शून्य से होता है। शून्य को शून्य से भाग देने पर क्या प्राप्त होगा ? इसी (0/0) का नाम है अनिर्णीत स्वरूप (Indeterminate form); क्योकि 0/0 का मान आज तक कोई गणितज्ञ ज्ञात नही कर पाया है। इस प्रकार, अनत और अनिर्णीत स्वरूप दोनो का जनक शून्य है। अत. अनिर्णीत स्वरूप के विवेचन के पूर्व, शून्य की कल्पना और इसकी प्रकृति पर विचार करना उचित होगा, जिससे कि सन्तान की प्रवृत्ति (गुण) जानने के पूर्व इसके पिता का इतिहास पता रहे, क्योंकि "तुख्म तासीर सोहबत का असर।"

शून्य की कल्पना—प्राचीनकाल से ही गणितज्ञो ने शून्य के दो रूपो की अवधारणा की है। अकगणित के शून्य को हम 'कुछ नही, (nil) कह सकते हैं, और बीजगणित के शून्य को हम 'परमाल्प राशि' (infinitesimally small number) मान सकते है। बीजगणित के अस्तित्व मे आने के बहुत पहले अकगणित का विकास हुआ। अत. अंकगणित बीजगणित का अग्रज है। अंकगणित मे शून्य अभाव या कुछ नही वाली अवधारणा के कारण ही, गणित के प्रारम्भिककाल मे, शून्य के प्रतीक (चिन्ह) बिंदु (point or dot) को घटाने के परिकर्म (subtraction) के रूप मे प्रयुक्त किया जाता रहा। बाद मे, घटाने के परिकर्म के लिए "+" चिन्ह (जो आज जोडने के परिकर्म के लिए प्रयुक्त होता है) और अन्ततोगत्वा "—" चिन्ह को सर्वसम्मति से स्वीकार कर लिया गया। उधर शून्य भी अपने शैशवकाल के बिंदु से वृत्त, वृत्ताकार चिन्ह तथा अंडाकार चिन्ह के विकासक्रम से गुजरता हुआ, वर्तमानकाल के यौवन की आकर्षक एवं उत्कर्ष अवस्था मे आज हमारे सामने है।

बीजगणित के शून्य की परमाल्प राशि के रूप मे अवधारणा ० X अ = ० = अ X ० सिद्धान्त कर आघृत है। इसे इस प्रकार समझाया जा सकता है, उपर्युक्त समीकरण मे जैसे-जैसे गुण्य कम किया जाएगा, वैसे-वैसे गुणनफल भी कम होता जाएगा। यदि गुण्य को परमाल्प कर दिया जाए, तो गुणनफल भी परमाल्प हो जाएगा। परन्तु

परमात्य होने का अर्थ शून्य होता है। अत यदि गुण्य शून्य हो, तो गुणनफल भी शून्य होगा। इसी प्रकार जैसे-जैसे गुणक कम किया जाएगा, वैसे-वैसे गुणनफल भी कम होता जाएगा, और गुणक के शून्य होने पर, गुणनफल भी शून्य हो जाएगा। इस अवतरण मे शून्य को अवरोही (descending or decreasing) राशि के रूप मे कल्पित किया गया है।

शून्य की इन दोनो कल्पनाओ को स्पष्ट करने के लिए हम स्थूल उदाहरण लेते हैं। मानलो मेरे पास दो पुस्तकें हैं। मैंने इन दोनो पुस्तको को आपको दे दिया। मेरे पास कितनी पुस्तकें शेष बची ? उत्तर स्पष्ट है—कुछ नही (nil), अर्थात् अभाव या शून्य, क्योकि मेरे पास पुस्तक का अभाव हो गया है, मेरे पास कोई भी पुस्तक नही बची है। पुन शून्य की परिभाषा हम इस प्रकार करते हैं कि यह छोटी-से-छोटी वह राशि है जिसकी हम केवल कल्पना कर सकते हैं (zero is a number as small as one can think of)। इस प्रकार, 'शून्य', 'कुछ नही' की तुलना मे, बहुत बडी राशि है, यद्यपि 'शून्य' 'कुछ नहीं' के अत्यन्त समीप है। अपने कथन को स्पष्ट करने के लिए हम उदाहरण लेते हैं। सोडियम के स्पेक्ट्रम (doublet) मे दो लाइने होती हैं, जिनकी तरगदैर्घ्य ५८९० तथा ५८९६A^0 होती हैं, जबकि $1\ A^0 = 10^{-10}$ मीटर। इनके बीच $6\ A^0$ की दूरी (अन्तर) होता है। साधारणत वायु मे प्रकाश का वेग एक लाख छियासी हजार मील या 3×10^9 मीटर प्रति सैकिंड होता है। अब, यदि यह प्रश्न किया जाए कि उपर्युक्त डबलेट के बीच की दूरी को तय (सचरण) करने के लिए कितने प्रकाश-वर्ष (Light years) लगेंगे, जबकि एक प्रकाश-वर्ष $= 1 \times 10^{17}$ मीटर ? यद्यपि गणित की दृष्टि से इस समय को परिकलन द्वारा ज्ञात किया जा सकता है, तथापि व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से समय का यह मान इतना छोटा है कि हम उसे उपेक्षणीय, नगण्य या शून्य कह देंगे। इसी प्रकार $3\ A^0$ के लिए लगने वाला समय $6\ A^0$ वाले समय से भी कम, अतः शून्य है। इन दो उदाहरणो पर विचार करे। जब $6\ A^0$' वाले समय को शून्य कहा, तब उसका अर्थ समय का अभाव (nil) नही है, क्योंकि $3\ A^0$ वाले समय को भी शून्य कहा है, जबकि $6\ A^0$ वाला समय $3\ A^0$ वाले समय से निश्चित रूप से दुगना है। अतः शून्य की परिभाषा मे 'छोटी-से-छोटी राशि' कहा गया है — सबसे छोटी राशि' (smallest number) नही कहा है। इसी प्रकार $2\ A^0$ तथा $1\ A^0$ आदि के लिए लगने वाले समयो के मान और भी कम होंगे और वे सभी शून्य कहलाएँगे। इसी प्रकार के और अनेक उदाहरणो से निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि शून्य' 'अभाव' या 'कुछ नही' (nil) से बडी सख्या है। अर्थात् शून्य', कुछ नहीं' के निकटतम होते हुए भी शून्य कभी भी 'कुछ नही' नही हो सकता। इस प्रकार, शून्य केवल सैद्धान्तिक (theoretical) महत्त्व की सख्या है, व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से (practically) किसी भी राशि का मान 'कुछ नहीं' की कोटि का शून्य नही है। वस्तुत',

शून्य वह सीमा है जिस पर किसी राशि के पहुंचने की आशा की जा सकती है; किंतु शून्य 'कुछ नहीं' के कभी भी बराबर नहीं हो सकता (The quantity zero is only the limit to which a small quantity may be expected to tend, but zero is not any time equal to nil । यहां पर आप बौद्धधर्म के शून्यवाद से प्रस्तुत शून्य की तुलना न करें, क्योंकि उसकी कल्पना का आधार कुछ और है।

इस सदर्भ मे, अपने मूल विषय से तनिक हटकर, एक बात का उल्लेख करदूं। गणित मे हम शताब्दियों से $x-x=0$ का प्रयोग करते आ रहे हैं। मुझे यह कहते हुए तनिक सकोच या झिझक हो रही है कि यह धारणा त्रुटिपूर्ण है। गणित के विषय मे जो वाक्य प्रयुक्त होता है उससे हम सभी, गणित के अध्येता के नाते, परिचित होगे, ऐसी आशा है। वह वाक्य है, "गणित सबसे अधिक यथातथ विज्ञान है" (Mathematics is the most exact science)। आपकी भावनाओ को तनिक ठेस पहुंचाने का मैं दुस्साहस करूंगा यदि यह कहूं कि यह वाक्य गणित के किसी चाटुकार 'भाट' ने प्रयोग किया होगा, जो गणित के ज्ञान से कोसो दूर रहता होगा, क्योंकि यह वाक्य अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण है—अशुद्ध है, गलत है। इस द्विधापूर्ण स्थिति मे मैं कुछ साहस बटोरकर यदि इस वाक्य को इन शब्दो मे शुद्ध करने का प्रयास करूं कि, "गणित अनुमानाश्रित विज्ञान है" (Mathematics is a Science of approximation), तो हम वास्तविकता (सत्य) के कुछ समीप पहुँच सकेंगे। आप चौंकें नहीं, गंभीरता से विचार करें। तथ्य यह है, जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा है, शून्य एक सीमामात्र है जिसे कभी भी प्राप्त नहीं किया जा सकता। इस सब के बावजूद, व्यवहार मे हमे शून्य को ऐसी छोटी राशि मानकर चलना पड़ता है जिसका मान शून्य होता है।

क्योंकि शून्य की परिभाषा मे कोई परिबद्धता (दृढता नहीं है—उसे बधनो की सीमा मे परिबद्ध करके सुरक्षित नही किया गया है, विजातीय तत्वो के आवागमन के लिए शून्य की विस्तृत सीमाओं को खुला छोड दिया गया है, ऐसी अवस्था मे यह कहना त्रुटिपूर्ण न होगा कि शून्य एक निश्चित स्थिराक (definite constant) नहीं है। उदाहरणार्थ 'मानलो' कि किसी अवस्था मे राशि 0.001 को शून्य मान लिया गया है स्मरण रहे कि मैंने 'मानलो' शब्द को जानबूझकर प्रयोग किया है, क्योंकि, जैसा कि मैंने ऊपर कहा है, कोई राशि कितनी भी छोटी हो जाए किंतु उसका मान शून्य नहीं हो सकता। अब, 0.001 से कम वाली 0.0009, 0.0002 तथा 0.0001 आदि सभी राशियों के मान शून्य होंगे। इससे सिद्ध होता है कि शून्य एक निश्चित अचर राशि (स्थिराक) नहीं है, बल्कि इसका मान शून्य से शून्य के अतराल (range or limits) के मध्य बदलता रहता है। इससे आप शून्य को सांख्यिकीय चरो

(Statistical variables) आदि के साथ घालमेल (confuse) न करें, क्योंकि शून्य का विचरण (variation) भी शून्य कोटि (order) का ही है। "The random variable is a numerical valued variable defined on a sample space and a sample space is the picture of all the possible outcomes of an experiment.")

अनंत की परिकल्पना—अनिर्णीत स्वरूपो के विवेचन के पूर्व, एक और शब्द या राशि है, जिसका ज्ञान होना परमावश्यक है। और वह राशि है अनत (Infinity)। शून्य की तरह अनत (∞) का भी कोई भौतिक अस्तित्व नही है। गणित के विद्यार्थी के नाते हम जानते हैं कि $1/0 = \infty$, इसके अनुसार, अनत शून्य का विलोम (reciprocal) है। इसकी परिभाषा इन शब्दो मे दी जाती है कि "अनत वह राशि है जो इतनी बडी है, जितनी बडी होने की सभावना हो सकती है" (Infinity is a number as great as one can think of)। पुन. कोई भी राशि इतनी बडी नही हो सकती कि जिसका मान अनत के 'बराबर' हो जाए। मानलो किसी दशा–विशेष मे, राशि 9999 को अनत मान लिया गया। अब, 9999 कोई ऐसी अतिम राशि नही है जिससे बडी और कोई राशि हो ही नही सकती। अत शून्य की भाँति अनत भी कोई निश्चित स्थिराक नही है—यह एक चरराशि (variable) है।

'कुछनहीं' (nil)' शून्य (zero) तथा अनत (infinity) के प्राथमिक तथा मौलिक ज्ञान को हृदयगम करने के बाद, अब हम अपने मुख्य विषय 'अनिर्णीत स्वरूप' के विवेचन पर आते हैं।

अनिर्णीत स्वरूप—जैसा कि 'अनिर्णीत स्वरूप' 'indeterminate form) शब्द का अर्थ प्रकट कर रहा है, यह किसी वस्तु या राशि का वह स्वरूप है, जिसका मान (value) अभी तक ज्ञात नही हो सका है या जिसके मान का परिकलन करना सभव नही (incalculable) है। शून्य तथा अनत की उपर्युक्त परिभाषाओ को आत्मसात करने के बाद यद्यपि यह समझने मे कठिनाई नही होनी चाहिए कि अनिर्णीत स्वरूप वाली राशियो के मान ज्ञात करना क्यो सभव नही है, तथापि निम्नाकित कुछ उदाहरणो की सहायता से यह स्पष्ट करने का प्रयत्न किया गया है कि वास्तव मे अनिर्णीत स्वरूप वाली राशियो के मान ज्ञात करना सभव क्यो नही है।

(1) $\frac{\infty}{\infty}$ शून्य और अनत की स्पष्ट कल्पना के अभाव मे, अपरिपक्व गणित का विद्यार्थी ∞/∞ का मान 1 (unity) होना बतलाएगा, जो अशुद्ध है, क्योकि ∞/∞ अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है। वह मद बुद्धि वाला विद्यार्थी प्रश्न कर सकता है ∞/∞ का मान 1 क्यो नही है? आओ, उसके इस प्रश्न का उत्तर देने का

प्रयत्न करें।

जैसा कि अनत की परिभाषा के अतर्गत ऊपर सिद्ध किया गया है, अनंत (∞) कोई निश्चित (अचर) राशि (fixed quantity or number) नही है—अनत एक चरराशि (variable) है। जब अनत चरराशि है तो, जब तक यह निश्चित न हो जाए कि ∞/∞ मे अश (numerator) मे रखी अनत राशि (∞) का मान हर (denominator) मे रखी अनत राशि (∞) के मान के बराबर है, तब तक अश और हर की अनत राशियो को एक दूसरे से काटकर, भागफल $=1$, नही लिखा जा सकता। अपने वक्तव्य को मैं, गणित की भाषा मे इस प्रकार समझा सकता हूँ कि मानलो अश मे रखी अनत राशि का मान ∞_a तथा हर मे रखी ∞ का मान ∞_d है। 'मानलिया' ∞ का वास्तविक मान ∞_∞ है। स्मरण रहे कि मैंने 'मानलिया' शब्द प्रयोग किया है, क्योंकि ∞ का कोई वास्तविक या निश्चित true or fixed) मान नही होता है।

$$\therefore \quad \left|\frac{\infty}{\infty}\right| = \left|\frac{\infty_a}{\infty_d}\right| = \left|\frac{\infty_\infty + a}{\infty_\infty + b}\right|$$

जबकि a और b के मान 0 से ∞ के बीच कुछ भी हो सकते हैं, क्योंकि ∞ मे कुछ भी जोडने से प्राप्त योग ∞ ही होता है। ऐसी अवस्था मे $\left|\frac{\infty_\infty + a}{\infty_d + b}\right|$ का मान तबतक 1 नही हो सकता, जब तक $a = b$ न हो जाए। यही कारण है कि ∞/∞ को अनिर्णीत स्वरूप का मानना पडता है।

(2) 0/0 —क्योकि, ∞ की भांति, शून्य का कोई निश्चित मान नही है, अत: उपर्युक्त उदाहरण (1) मे प्रस्तुत तर्क के आधार पर, 0/0 भी एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है।

(3) $0 \times \infty$ —जिस प्रकार, 0 वह निम्नतम सीमा है, जिसपर किसी छोटी से छोटी राशि के पहुँचने की आशा की जा सकती है, उसी प्रकार, ∞ वह उच्चतम सीमा है, जिसपर किसी बडी से बडी राशि के पहुँचने की आशा की जा सकती है। अत $0 \times \infty$ का मान 0 और ∞ के बीच कही स्थित होना चाहिए। किंतु, वह मान है क्या ? आओ, इसे मालूम करने का तनिक प्रयत्न करें।

मानलिया 0.001 तथा इससे कम राशियो का मान शून्य है, और 999 तथा इससे बड़ी राशियो का मान ∞ है, तब 9999 भी ∞ के तुल्य है।

$\therefore\ 0 \times \infty = 0.001 \times 999 = 0.999,$
तथा, $0 \times \infty = 0.001 \times 9999 = 9.999$

इस प्रकार, $0 \times \infty$ का कोई निश्चित मान नहीं है। अतः, $0 \times \infty$ एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है।

उपयुक्त शून्य तथा अनंत की अवधारणा के आधार पर यह सिद्ध करना कठिन नहीं है कि $1/0,\ 1/\infty,\ 0/1,\ \infty/1,\ \infty/0,\ 0/\infty$ तथा ∞^{∞} अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशियाँ नहीं हैं, क्योंकि, इनके मान क्रमशः $\infty,\ 0,\ 0,\ \infty,\ \infty,\ 0$ तथा ∞ हैं।

(4) 0^0—राशि 0^0 का मान ज्ञात करना संभव नहीं है। क्यों ? अधोलिखित पदों पर विहगम दृष्टि डालें :

$(1/10000)^{1/2} = 1/100$, तथा $(1/10000)^{1/4} = 1/10$ इत्यादि। स्पष्ट है कि यदि आधार (base) 1 से कम है और उसको स्थिर रखा जाता है, तो घात (power) जो 1 से कम है, उसके घटते जाने से पूरे पद (term) का मान बढ़ता जाता है। पद के मान के बढ़ने की किस सीमा तक अपेक्षा की जा सकती है ? क्या ∞ तक ? नहीं। इस प्रकार के पद के बढ़ने की अधिकतम सीमा 1 (unity) है, क्योंकि 1 से बड़ी संख्या का कोई भी मूल (any root) 1 से छोटा (या बराबर) नहीं हो सकता, इसका मान सदैव 1 से बड़ा (अधिक) रहेगा। अर्थात्, यदि आधार और घात दोनों ही 1 से कम हैं, तो राशि (quotient) का मान 1 से कम होगा। अर्थात्, यदि आधार को निश्चित (स्थिर) रखा जाए, और घात का मान घटाते जाएँ, तो पूरे पद का मान बढ़ता जाएगा, किंतु यह मान 1 से कम ही रहेगा।

0 का मान निश्चित नहीं है। यदि 0 का मान निश्चित होता तो 0^0 का मान ज्ञात करना संभव हो सकता था। यदि आधार (ब्रैकिटों में लिखी राशि) के $1/10000$ के मान को 0 की सीमा के अंतर्गत मानलें, तो $1/10000$ से कमवाली समस्त राशियों को भी 0 मानना पड़ेगा। इस प्रकार, 0^0 का मान $(1/10000)^{1/10000}$ हुआ। यदि आधार के $1/10000$ के मान को 0 मानलें, तो 0^0 का मान $(1/10000)^{1/10000}$ हुआ। इस तरह, 0^0 का मान $(1/999999)^{1/10000}$ भी हो सकता है। अर्थात्, 0^0 के मानों की अनगिनत संख्या है। अतः 0^0 का कोई निश्चित मान नहीं है। अतः, 0^0 एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है।

उपर्युक्त तर्क के आधार पर 0^{∞} का मान 0 है, यह सिद्ध करना कठिन नहीं है। अतः 0^{∞} एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि नहीं है।

(5) ∞^0—यह एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है। क्योंकि, $(1000)^{1/2} = 100,$

$(10000)^{1/4} = 10$ तथा $(10000)^{1/8} = 3\,3$ आदि।

स्पष्ट है कि आधार के स्थिर रहने पर, घात का मान घटाते जाने से, पद का मान घटता जाता है। इसके घटने की सीमा क्या है। क्योंकि आधार का मान 1 से अधिक है, अत घात के घटते जाने से, पद मान के घटने की सीमा 1 है—वस्तुत यह मान 1 से अधिक ही रहना चाहिए, क्योंकि जो राशि 1 से अधिक है, उसका प्रत्येक मूल (root) भी 1 से अधिक ही होना चाहिए, हाँ, यदि आधार के मान की सीमा 1 है, तो पद के मान की सीमा 1 हो सकती है, किंतु किसी भी दशा मे, राशि का मान 1 से कम नही हो सकता। इस प्रकार, ∞^0 का मान 1 की सीमा के आसपास कही भी हो सकता है, किंतु, इसका कोई निश्चित मान ज्ञात नहीं किया जा सकता। अत, ∞^0 एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है।

(6) $\infty - \infty$—मानलिया धनात्मक ∞ का मान ∞_1 तथा ऋणात्मक ∞ का मान ∞_2 है। पुन मानलिया वे सब राशियाँ जिनका मान 9999 के बराबर या इससे अधिक है, उन्हे हम ∞ कहते है। तब हम कह सकते हैं कि $\infty_1 = 9999 + x$, जबकि x एक धनात्मक राशि है। इसी प्रकार, हम ∞_2 का कोई मान मान सकते है, जिसके साथ शर्त यह है कि उसका मान 999 से कम नही होना चाहिए। सरलता की दृष्टि से, मानलिया $\infty_2 = 9999$, तब, $\infty_1 - \infty_2 = x$, जबकि x का मान 0 से ∞ के बीच कुछ भी हो सकता है। अर्थात्, $\infty - \infty$ का मान निश्चित नही है। अत, $\infty - \infty$ एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है।

(7) 1^∞—अब तक की धारणा के अनुसार, 1 पर 1 से अधिक कोई भी घात चढ़ाने से उसका मान 1 (unity) ही रहना चाहिए। किंतु, जब यह कहा जाता है कि 1^∞ एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है, तो मस्तिष्क चकराने लगता है। परन्तु, वास्तविकता यह है कि 1^∞ एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है। प्रश्न उठता है कि यह कैसे है ? आओ इस समस्या को हल करे।

1^∞ का मान ज्ञात करने मे उत्पन्न होने वाली अपरिहारीय बाधा को, विस्तार के लिए, "A Text-book on Differential Calculus," by Dr. Gorakh Prasad, 1959, p. 251, Pothishala (P) Ltd Lajpat Road, Allahabad, सदृश किसी प्रामाणिक (standard) पुस्तक को देखा जा सकता है, यहाँ पर हम इस विषय को सक्षेप मे समझाने का प्रयत्न करेंगे।

प्रस्तुत लेख के प्रारम्भ मे दी गई शून्य की परमाल्प राशि के रूप मे जो परिभाषा दी गई है, उसके आधार पर राशि 1 0000000001 की सीमा, व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से, 1 है। अब यदि 1 से तनिक अधिक, शून्य के सदृश छोटे स्तर की वृद्धि, राशि की (1 से अधिकवाली) घात को क्रमश बढाकर अनत (∞) तक की सीमा तक पहुँचने वाली राशि करदे (जैसे, मान लिया, $(1\ 0000000001)^{1000000000}$ आदि] तो गुणन-फल का मान क्रमश बढकर ∞ की सीमा तक पहुँच सकता है। इसी प्रकार, (1 x), जबकि x शून्य की सीमा तक पहुँचने वाली छोटी राशि है, इसके मान की सीमा 1 होगी, और $(1-x)^{\infty}$ का मान 1 से बहुत कम होगा। इस प्रकार, 0 तथा ∞ के मान निश्चित न होने के कारण, 1^{∞} का मान निश्चित नही हो पाएगा। अत 1^{∞} एक अनिर्णीत स्वरूप की राशि है।

निम्न कथनों में त्रुटि बताइये

—विजयेन्द्र कुमार
रीडर गणित विभाग
गुरुकुल काँगडी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
तथा
—कु० सरिता रानी

प्रथम कथन—

पहले हम आपसे एक योगफल के प्रश्न पर बात कर रहे है। प्रश्न इस प्रकार हैं
$1-1+1-1+1-1+1-1$............

इस प्रश्न को आप एक पद तक योग करे तो योग 1, दो पदो का योग शून्य, तीन पदो का योग पुन. 1 तथा 4 पदो का योग शून्य इत्यादि, अर्थात् आप कही तक भी योग करे पदो की सम सख्या का योग शून्य तथा विषम सख्या का 1 होगा। आप पदो की अनत सख्या भी ले सकते हैं अब ऊपर वाले प्रश्न को दूसरे ढग से लिख रहे है।

$$S=(1-x+x^2-x^3+x^4-x^5+x^6......)$$

$x=1$ दोनो प्रश्न एक ही हैं। लेकिन गुणोत्तर श्रेणी के सूत्रो का प्रयोग करने पर

$$S_\infty = \left(\frac{1}{1+x}\right)x=1$$

अर्थात् पदो का अनत तक योग

$$S_\infty = \frac{1}{1+1} = \frac{1}{2}$$ इसे आप क्या कहेंगे ?

द्वितीय कथन—

आप एक नगर की जनसख्या के प्रश्न पर विचार कीजिए। एक नगर के सब लडके किसी दूसरी जगह जाकर बसते है। कालान्तर मे वे गृहस्थ आश्रम मे प्रवेश करते है उनके बच्चे होते हैं। क्या इस प्रकार उस जगह की जनसख्या की वृद्धि हुई। अपना उत्तर अभी मत बताइये।

इस समस्या पर इस प्रकार विचार कीजिए कि एक पुरुषो का समुच्चय x है, तथा एक पुरुष समेत उनके पूरे परिवारो का समुच्चय y है। फलन $F \quad x \to y$ इस प्रकार है कि प्रत्येक परिवार सबधित पुरुष का प्रतिबिंब है। स्पष्ट है x तथा y मे एक-एक सगतता है। अत दोनो समुच्चयो मे तत्वो की सख्या बराबर है। अत जनसख्या मे वृद्धि नही हुई। आशा है आप का उत्तर इसके विपरीत रहा होगा। तब त्रुटि कहाँ है ?

तृतीय कथन—

$1 \quad 2+3-4+5 \quad 6+7-8\ldots \quad \ldots \quad \ldots$ (A) पर विचार करे। यदि n पदो के योग को S_n कहे तो $S_1=1$, $S_2=-1$, $S_3=2$, $S_4=-2$, $S_5=3$, $S_6= \quad 3$ इत्यादि। इस प्रकार जैसे-जैसे पदो की सख्या बढती जाती है पदो का योग धनात्मक रूप मे (n विषम होने पर) तथा ऋणात्मक रूप मे (n सम होने पर) बढता जाता है। इस प्रकार n अत्याधिक बडा होने पर योग धनात्मक अथवा ऋणात्मक अनत होगा।

अब दूसरे ढग से सोचिये

(A) को इस प्रकार लिखा जा सकता है.

$[F(x)=1-2x+3x^2-4x^3+5x^4-6x^5 \ldots \quad \ldots \quad \ldots \quad \ldots]$ (B)

$x=1$

दोनो ओर —x से गुणा करने पर

$-xf(x)=-x+2x^2-3x^3+4x^4-5x^5+\ldots \quad \ldots \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots$ (C)

(B) मे से (C) को घटाने पर

$(1+x)\,f(x)=1-x+x^2-x^3\ldots \quad \ldots\ldots \quad \ldots\ldots \quad \ldots$अनन्त तक

$(1+x)\,f(x)=\frac{1}{1+x}$ (सूत्र से)

$F(x)=\frac{1}{(1+x)^2}$

$F(x)_{x=1}=\frac{1}{(1+1)^2}=\frac{1}{4}$

इस प्रकार योग अनन्त तक जोडने पर $1/4$ आता है। आशा है आप उपरोक्त तीनो कथनो मे त्रुटि ज्ञात करने मे सफल होगे। निम्न कथनो पर भी इसी प्रकार विचारे।

चतुर्थ कथन —

एक परिवार मे पाँच सदस्य है जिनकी ऊँचाइयाँ क्रमश. 6 5 फीट, 6 फीट, 4 फीट, 3.5 फीट तथा 3 फीट है, परिवार को रास्ते मे पडने वाली एक नदी पार करनी

थी, परिवार के कर्ता ने परिवार के सदस्यो की औसत ऊँचाई ज्ञात की जो $\frac{6.5+6+4+3 5+3}{5}$ अर्थात् 4.6 फीट आयी। फिर नदी की औसत गहराई ज्ञात की गयी।

वह $\frac{5+3+6+3+ 5}{5}$ = 2.6 फीट प्राप्त हुई। परिवार के कर्ता ने परिवार का नदी पैदल चल के पार करना औसत ऊँचाई औसत गहराई से अधिक होने के कारण निरापद घोषित किया, परिणाम का अनुमान आपने लगा लिया होगा। त्रुटि कहाँ हुई ?

पचम कथन –

किसी देश की सरकार को सरकारी खर्च चलाने के लिए देश की जनता पर कर लगाने की आवश्यकता थी। आय का सर्वेक्षण करने के पश्चात् कर लगाने मे अधिक समय लगता। अत यह तय किया गया कि प्रत्येक नगर के प्रमुख की आय का विवरण लेकर उसका औसत ज्ञात करके प्रत्येक परिवार पर से उसका दशाश कर के रूप मे लिया जाय। इस कर निर्धारण प्रणाली मे कुछ दोष है क्या ?

पर्यावरण और उसकी दृष्टि से गढ़वाल के जल स्रोतों का अध्ययन

—डा० कृष्ण कुमार

वर्तमान युग मे पर्यावरण विज्ञान या पर्यावरण का अध्ययन एक अति आधुनिक विज्ञान के रूप मे विकसित हुआ है। एक नया विज्ञान होने पर भी इसने बहुत अधिक प्रसिद्धि, लोकप्रियता और व्यापकता पाई है। इस विज्ञान के अन्तर्गत किसी भी प्रदेश, स्थान और देश के विविध पक्षो—सस्कृति, राजनीति, अर्थव्यवस्था, धर्म, दर्शन, प्रकृति, विज्ञान, वनस्पति, जन्तु, भूगोल, जलवायु आदि का अध्ययन करके उनको मनुष्य जीवन के लिये अधिकतम उपयोगी बनाने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है। भारतवर्ष मे भी इस अध्ययन की उपयोगिता पर बहुत बल दिया गया है।

किसी भी देश का वर्तमान पर्यावरण उस देश के अतीत के पर्यावरण का परिणाम है तथा वह भविष्य के पर्यावरण के बीज बो रहा होता है। अत उस देश के वर्तमान पर्यावरण को अतीत और भविष्य के पर्यावरण से हम नितान्त पृथक् करके नही देख सकते। अत यह आवश्यक है कि हम यह अध्ययन करे कि अतीत का पर्यावरण किस प्रकार का था, उसका वर्तमान पर क्या प्रभाव पडा है और भविष्य मे क्या प्रभाव होने की सम्भावनाये है। अत भारतवर्ष के वर्तमान पर्यावरण के अध्ययन को अधिक तथ्यपूर्ण, व्यापक और सही करने के लिए इस देश के प्राचीन पर्यावरण का अध्ययन करना उपयोगी होगा। इसके लिए भारतवर्ष के प्राचीन साहित्य का, विशेष रूप से वैदिक और सस्कृत साहित्य का अध्ययन निश्चित रूप से वाछनीय है।

प्राचीन पर्यावरण के अध्ययन के लिये प्राचीन परम्पराओ का ज्ञान प्राप्त करना आवश्यक है। यह अध्ययन हमको प्राचीन ऋषियो और मनीषियो के दृष्टिकोण से करना चाहिये। भारतवर्ष के प्राचीन साहित्य का पर्यावरण की दृष्टि से अध्ययन करने पर उससे न केवल प्राचीन परम्पराओ का बोध होगा, उनके द्वारा हम आधुनिक गतिविधियो मे भी लाभ उठा सकते हैं। प्राचीन ऋषियो और कवियो ने अपनी साहित्यिक रचनाओ मे जीवन के विविध पक्षो पर समग्र दृष्टि से विचार किया था और मानव के जीवन मे उन्नति एव शान्ति के मार्ग को प्रशस्त किया था।

उदाहरण के रूप मे आदिकवि वाल्मीकि को लिया जा सकता है। ईश्वरीय काव्य वेदो के पश्चात् वाल्मीकिरचित रामायण सस्कृत भाषा का प्रथम काव्य ही नही अपितु महान् चरित काव्य है। इसमे आदिकवि ने महापुरुष राम के जीवनचरित के माध्यम से मानव-जीवन से सम्बन्धित सभी व्यवहारो का तथा मानवजीवन के लिये उपयोगी सभी द्रव्यो का सुन्दर मनोग्राही उपदेश दिया है।

इस महान् काव्य मे एक ओर जहाँ जीवन के सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक और आध्यात्मिक मूल्यो की स्थापना की गई है, वही दूसरी ओर मनुष्य का प्रकृति के साथ घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध भी स्थापित किया गया है। यह सृष्टि पचमहाभूतो—आकाश, वायु, अग्नि, जल और पृथ्वी से निर्मित है। इनकी पवित्रता मानव को पवित्र और स्वस्थ रखती है। इनका प्रदूषण मानव को अपवित्र और अस्वस्थ बना देता है। वर्तमान वैज्ञानिक-औद्योगिक युग मे प्रकृति के इन तत्वो का प्रदूषण निरन्तर बढता जा रहा है, जिससे मानव के अस्तित्व को ही खतरा उत्पन्न हो गया है। प्रदूषण के इन दोषो से बचने के लिये प्राचीन ऋषियो ने जिन पर्वतो, वनो और सरिता-सगमो पर आने के उपदेश दिये थे, मानव ने उनको भी परिदूषित करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया है।

वाल्मीकि ने प्रदूषण से बचने तथा प्रकृति के इन पच तत्वो को शुद्ध रखकर इनमे सभी प्रकार की पवित्रताओ को स्थापित करने का उपदेश दिया था। उदाहरण के रूप मे हम जल को ले सकते है। पतितपावनी गगा के माध्यम से उन्होने जल को पवित्र रखने, प्रदूषण से बचाये रखने तथा उसके द्वारा मानवमात्र को पवित्र करने का उपदेश दिया था। स्वर्ग से गगा का अवतरण इसी सन्देश की अभिव्यजना करता है।

जल की पवित्रता तथा पावन करने की सामर्थ्य का उपदेश वैदिक सहिताओ मे है। पृथिवी पर जल का आगमन मेघो द्वारा होता है। मेघ जल बरसाकर पृथिवी को सस्य श्यामला करने के साथ ही प्रदूषण से रहित भी करता है। इसी को आलकारिक रूप से ऋग्वेद मे ५ वे मण्डल के ८३वे सूक्त मे कहा गया है कि गरजता हुआ पर्जन्य दुष्कृतो का विनाश करता है। आकाश से जल बरसाने वाले मेघ की धाराये गिर कर पृथिवी को सिंचित करती हैं। जब वह दुष्कृतो के प्रदूषण को नष्ट कर देता है, तो पृथिवी पर प्रसन्नता व्याप्त हो जाती है।

अथर्ववेद मे जल को रोगनाशक, प्रदूषण का विनाशक और कल्याणप्रद कहा गया है। हम प्रतिदिन अथर्व वेद के इस मन्त्र से प्रार्थना करते हैं—

शन्नो देवी रमिष्ट य आपो भवन्तु पीत ये श यो रमि सूवन्तु न ॥

अथर्व १. ६. १.११

अथर्व वेद मे सभी स्रोतो से प्राप्त होने वाले जलो से कल्याण की कामना की गई है—

श न आपोध्न्व्या शभु सन्त्वनूप्या । श न खनित्रिमा ।
आप शभु या कुम्भ आमृता शिवा न सन्तु वार्षिकी ॥

अथर्व १ ६. ४.

आदिकवि वाल्मीकि ने गगावतरण की कथा की कल्पना मे जल का पावनत्व और प्रदूषणविनाशक गुण अभिव्यजित किया है। समुद्र से उठने वाले मेघ ऊँचे आकाश की यात्रा करते हुये हिमालय के उच्च शिखरो पर बरस कर हिम रूप मे जम जाते हैं। वहा से यह जल मुक्त होकर गगा सरिता के रूप मे पृथिवी को सिचित करता हुआ सकल मलो को, प्रदूषणो को हरता हुआ धरा को हरा-भरा करता है। वस्तुतः आकाशरूप स्वर्ग से उतरी गगा हिमानीरूप शिव की जटाओ मे कैद होकर पुन विमुक्त हो जल धारा रूप मे बहती हुई जन-जन के पापो का, धरती के प्रदूषणो का विनाश करती है। हिम के पिघलने से यह सरिता वर्ष भर जल से भरी रहकर मानव का निरन्तर उपकार करती है।

भारत का इतिहास गगा का इतिहास है। भारत की सस्कृति गगा की सस्कृति है। भारत का पर्यावरण गगा का पर्यावरण है। यह गगा या भागीरथी गढवाल के गोमुख हिमानी से प्रादुर्भूत होकर गगोतरी, उत्तरकाशी, टिहरी, देवप्रयाग आदि पर्वतीय स्थानो को पार करती हुई और गढ वाल मे उदित होने वाली सभी सरिताओ की अनन्त स्वच्छ पवित्र जलराशि को समेटे हुये हरिद्वार मे मैदानो मे उतर आती है। हिमालय से उतरती इस सरिता ने हरिद्वार मे ही मैदानो मे प्रवेश किया है तथा यहा से पर्वतो मे जाने का मार्ग खुलता है। अत इस स्थान को गगाद्वार नाम दिया गया था। गगा और इसकी पवित्र पर्वतीय भूमि को स्वर्ग कहा गया।

गगा स्वय मे एक नदी नही है, अपितु अनेक सरिताओ का समुच्चय है। वैसे तो हिमालय से निकलने वाली नदियो के दो समूह है—सिन्धु नदी समूह और गगा नदी समूह। परन्तु जो नदिया पूर्व मे बगाल की खाडी मे जाती हैं, वे गगा मे मिलकर ही जाती हैं। गढवाल से लेकर कामरूप तक की सभी नदियो का मिलन गगा मे हुआ है। स्वय गढ वाल मे उत्पन्न होने वाली नदिया अधिकाश मे हरिद्वार तक गगा मे मिल जाती हैं। इनमे

एक यमुना ही ऐसी है, जो गढवाल की पश्चिमी पर्वतश्रेणी बन्दरपुच्छ से निकलकर यमुनोतरी तीर्थ होकर पश्चिमी गढवाल की टोंस आदि नदियो के जल को समेट कर स्वतन्त्र रूप से गढवाल से बाहर निकल सकी है।

पुराणो मे वर्णन है कि स्वर्ग से गिरकर जब शिव की जटाओ मे गगा कैद हो गई, तो इसके पश्चात् वह तीन धाराओ मे निर्मुक्त हुई। गढवाल मे भी इस गगा के तीन स्रोत हैं—भागीरथी, मन्दाकिनी और अलकनन्दा। इन तीनो नदियो का जल देवप्रयाग मे एकत्रित हो जाता है और वहा से यह गगा कहलाती है। भागीरथी का उद्गम गोमुख ग्लेशियर से है तथा देवप्रयाग मे इसमे अलकनन्दा का मिलन होता है। इस मध्य इसमे अनेक नदिया—केदार गगा, जाह्नवी गगा, असी-वरुणा, मिलगना, शान्ता आदि अपनी शुभ्र निर्मल सतत जलराशि को मिलाती हैं। मन्दाकिनी का उद्गम केदारनाथ से ऊपर वासुकि ताल के समीप से हिमशिखरो से हुआ है। यह भी अनेक नदियो—स्वर्ग गगा, वैतरणी, सोम गगा, सरस्वती, चन्द्रावती, अलस्तर आदि के जलो को समेट कर रुद्रप्रयाग मे अलकनन्दा मे विलीन हो जाती है। अलकनन्दा का उद्गम बदरीनाथ से ऊपर सतोपन्थ और अलकापुरी से हुआ है। यह अपने साथ सरस्वती, ऋषि गगा, धवलगगा, विरही, मन्दाकिनी को अपने आलिंगन मे बाधकर देवप्रयाग मे भागीरथी से सयुक्त हो जाती है। यहा इन सभी नदियो का जल सयुक्त रूप से गगा कहलाता है।

गढवाल की नदियो को सामान्य रूप से दो विभागो मे विभक्त कर सकते हैं —

१. वे नदिया जो हिमावृत्त शैल शिखरो और हिमानियो से उद्भव होती हैं।
२ वे नदिया जो स्रोतो से निकलती हैं।

भागीरथी, मन्दाकिनी और अलकनन्दा तथा इनमे मिलने वाली असख्य छोटी-बडी नदिया प्राय: हिम के पिघलने से उत्पन्न होती है। परन्तु अनेक नदिया ऐसी भी हैं, जिनका उद्गम भूमि के अन्तर्गत जल से झरनो के रूप में होता है। वर्षा का जल पर्वतीय भूमि मे रिसकर चट्टानो से परिवेष्टित भूमि-अन्तर्गत विशाल जलाशयो मे सग्रहीत होता है। यहाँ से यह स्रोतो के रूपो मे निकल कर नदियो का रूप धारण कर लेता है। पूर्वी तथा पश्चिमी नयार, इनमे सबसे बडी नदी है। ये दोनो धारा कोटद्वार-पौडी के मध्य सतपुली मे सयुक्त होकर व्यासघाट मे गगा मे मिल जाती हैं। पश्चिमी हिंवल, पूर्वी हिंवल, मालिनी, अलस्तर, शान्ता, खाकडा आदि असख्य छोटी नदिया झरनो के रूप मे निकल कर कुछ देर बहकर बडी नदियो मे मिल जाती हैं।

गढवाल मण्डल मे इन नदियो के अतिरिक्त असख्य ग्लेशियर हैं, जिनसे इन नदियो का उद्गम होता है। कैम्प्टीफाल, बसुधारा, टाइगरफाल, आदि प्रपात है। सप्तर्षि कुण्ड, हेमकुण्ड, रूपकुण्ड, डोडीताल, केदारनाथ, देवरिया ताल, सतोपन्थ, वासुकिताल, गोहनाताल, गान्धी सरोवर आदि विशाल निर्मल जल से परिपूर्ण सरोवर है। गढवाल के पर्यावरण के अध्ययन के लिये इन सबका अध्ययन अनिवार्य है।

असख्य छोटी-बडी शाखा नदियो को अपने मे समेट कर गगा नदी इस हिमालय गढवाल से अनन्त जलराशि को प्रतिक्षण प्रवाहित करती हुई उत्तर भारत के मैदानो को सीचती हुई समुद्र मे मिल जाती है। हिमालय के पिछले हिम से उद्भूत गगा का यह निर्मल जल किसी समय अति पवित्र पावन था। परन्तु इसमे भी निरन्तर प्रदूषण की समस्या उपस्थित हो गई है। गढवाल मे ही गगा और इसकी शाखा सरिताओ के तट पर अवस्थित आबादियो के लिये इस जल का बिना शुद्ध किये उपयोग मे लाना रोगोत्पत्ति का कारण बन गया है। इन नगरो की सारी गन्दगी नदियो मे ही बहाई जाती है, जो जल को प्रदूषित करती है। नई-नई सडको का निर्माण, उन पर निरन्तर डीजल-पैट्रोल का धुआ उडाती मोटरगाडिया, नदियो पर स्थान-स्थान पर बनाये जाते हुए डाम, वृक्षो के निरन्तर कटान से वनस्पति रहित होती पर्वत भूमिया, नई बढती आबादिया और उनके कारण नदियो मे मिलने वाली मलिनताये इन पर्वतीय प्रदेशो के जल, वायु, भूमि और आकाश मे निरन्तर प्रदूषण को बढा रहे हैं। इससे इस क्षेत्र के पर्यावरण मे निरन्तर परिवर्तन भी उत्पन्न हो रहा है। अत आवश्यक है गगा नदी के उद्गम इस क्षेत्र के पर्यावरण का समुचित अध्ययन करके, प्रदूषण को रोकने के उपाय किये जाये तथा यहा के जलस्रोतो, वनस्पतियो, खनिजो आदि का समुचित प्रकार से दोहन करके उसका उपयोग देश-वासियो की खुशहाली के लिये किया जाये।

वाल्मीकि ने भगीरथ के माध्यम से गगा के स्वर्ग से अवतरण की कल्पना करके उसमे जिस पावनता की, सुख-समृद्धि की, त्रिविध दोष निवारण की कल्पना की थी, आज पुन आवश्यकता हो गई है कि कोई नया भगीरथ उस सम्पूर्ण गगा घाटी का अध्ययन करके प्रदूषण के दोषो का निवारण करे और यह गगा इस देश के वासियो के तन-मन के तापो का निवारण करके सबको सुखी-समृद्ध करे।

कुछ घरेलू नुस्खे

चन्द्रप्रकाश, प्रयोगशाला सहायक, वनस्पति विज्ञान विभाग
गुरुकुल काँगडी विश्वविद्यालय

वर्तमान युग मे रोगो के उपचार के लिए एव स्वस्थ बने रहने के लिए नाना प्रकार की औषधियो का प्रयोग हो रहा है। इनमे से अनेक अ ग्रेजी औषधियो के गम्भीर दुष्प्रभाव (Side Effects) देखने मे आते हैं। हमारे देश मे ऐसे कितने ही घरेलू नुस्खे हैं जो अनेक प्रकार के रोगो को दूर करने के लिए पुराने समय से सफलतापूर्वक प्रयोग मे लाये जाते रहे है। उनकी एक अन्य विशेषता यह भी है कि उनके कोई दुष्प्रभाव (Side-Effects) नही है।

प्रस्तुत लेख मे केवल कुछ घरेलू नुस्खे दिये जा रहे है :—

१ जुकाम –(अ) तुलसी के पत्ते २० ग्राम, काली मिर्च २ ग्राम, दालचीनी २ ग्राम, सौंठ २ ग्राम, लौंग ५, और तेजपात १ ग्राम, गुड स्वाद के अनुसार ५०० ग्राम पानी मे पकाये, जब पानी आधा रह जाए तो प्रयोग मे लाएँ।

(ब) १० बताशे, ५ काली मिर्च १०० ग्राम पानी मे पकाकर पीये।

२ खासी:–(अ) लौंग, अनार के छिलके का चूर्ण शहद से चाटे।

(ब) लहसुन भूनकर शहद मे चटाये।

(स) यदि पान का प्रयोग करते हो तो पान मे अजवायन रखकर उसका रस चूसे।

(द) हल्दी दूध मे उबालकर पिये।

३ नजला :– ५० ग्राम काली मिर्च, १०० ग्राम तुलसी के पत्ते, २५ ग्राम काला नमक, १० लौंग, आदि को पीसकर छोटी-छोटी गोलियाँ बना ले और प्रातः-साय और रात्रि मे गर्म जल से प्रयोग करे।

४. सफेद दाग.–(अ) बाकची ३ ग्राम, मूली के बीज २ ग्राम, सीपी की भस्म २ ग्राम, सिरका २० मिली०। उपरोक्त मे से प्रथम तीनो चीजो को अच्छी प्रकार से पीसकर फिर सिरके पेस्ट बनाकर सफेद दाग पर लगाकर करीब दो घण्टे धूप मे बैठे। साबुन लगाकर न नहाये।

(ब) चाक्सू के बीज, नर कचूर, रसूवत और सफेद कत्था, प्रथम तीनो चीजे बराबर मात्रा में पीसकर, कत्था पानी मे भीगो दे। जब खूब फूल जाए तो पेस्ट बनाकर प्रयोग मे लाएँ।

५ भूख कम लगना, तथा कमर दर्द :—पीपल बडी, सौंठ, काली मिर्च और मेथी चारो चीजे बराबर मात्रा मे लेकर पीसकर चूर्ण बनाकर शीतल जल से प्रयोग करे। यदि पेट साफ न होता हो तो गर्म जल का प्रयोग करे।

६ जोडो मे दर्द .—घी क्वार का रस १०० ग्राम, ५० ग्राम शहद मे मिलाकर ८-१० दिन धूप मे रखे फिर उसमे लगभग ५० ग्राम अजवायन पीसकर मिला लें। फिर २ ग्राम प्रात-सायकाल प्रयोग करे।

७. मच्छरो से सुरक्षा —२०० ग्राम सरसो का तेल तथा १०० ग्राम नीबू के पत्ते, तेल मे डालकर पकाये। जब तेल की मात्रा आधी रह जाए, उतार ले। रात को सोने से पूर्व हाथ-पैरो और चेहरे पर लगाकर सोये मच्छर नही काटेगे।

८ चाकू आदि से कटने पर —अनेक बार घरो मे सब्जी आदि काटते समय चाकू से कट जाता है, यदि गहरा भी कट जाए तो घबराना नही चाहिए। घरो मे आम के अचार का मसाला होता ही है तुरन्त बाध देना चाहिए फिर किसी एन्टीसेप्टिक की आवश्यकता नही चाहे पानी मे भी भीगे। घाव ठीक तो होगा ही अग पर निशान भी नही बनेगा। परन्तु खोले तब ही जब आश्वस्त हो जाये कि घाव ठीक हो गया है।

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टिहरी बाँध : पर्यावरण एवं विकास (तथ्यात्मक विवेचन)

—डा० बी० डी० जोशी
अध्यक्ष
जन्तु विज्ञान विभाग,
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय,
हरिद्वार ।

उत्तर प्रदेश मे टिहरी गढवाल मे निर्माणाधीन टिहरी बाध समूचे देश व विश्व मे चर्चा का विषय बन गया है। टिहरी बाँध के निर्माण को लेकर समूचे देश के वैज्ञानिको, पर्यावरणप्रेमियो, पत्रकारो और बुद्धिजीवियो मे मतभेद है । कुछ इसके निर्माण के पक्ष मे है, व कुछ बाँध निर्माण के विरोध मे। जबकि बाँध निर्माण का कार्य आधे से ज्यादा हो चुका है । टिहरी बाँध का निर्माण टिहरी गढवाल मे भागीरथी तथा भिलगाना नदियो के सगम से कुछ नीचे हो रहा है। परन्तु अब अनेक प्रकार के मतान्तरो के कारण बहुउद्देश्यीय टिहरी बाध परियोजना अनिश्चितता के घेरे मे है ।

बांध-स्थल टिहरी हो क्यो ?

टिहरी मे बाध बनाने की सिफारिश सन् १९४८ मे सबसे पहले अधिकृत रूप से की गयी थी । साठ के दशक मे इस क्षेत्र का विस्तृत अध्ययन करने के उपरान्त बाध बनाने के लिए टिहरी को उपयुक्त क्षेत्र घोषित किया गया। मुख्य कारण यह था कि टिहरी तीन तरफ से पर्वतो से घिरी हुई घाटी का रूप है व इस क्षेत्र मे आसानी से बाँध बनने की सम्भावना बनती है । विगत दो दशको से प्राय प्रति वर्ष ही लेखक को भागीरथी तथा अलकनन्दा घाटियो मे मे जाने के अवसर मिलते रहे हैं। टिहरी बाँध को प्रत्येक चरण से आगे बढते-बनते देखा है। हमेशा ही यह विचार आता रहा है कि भागीरथी के इस समर्थ हिमालय क्षेत्र के जलगम को जो पानी मानसून द्वारा प्रतिवर्ष मिलता है, यदि उसे हम सचित कर पाते तो हजारो हाथो को, अनेकानेक उद्योगो, लाखों घरो को प्रकाश और करोडो को भरपेट भोजन से तृप्त कर सकते ।

भू–गर्भीय दृष्टि से स्थल की क्या स्थिति है, भूपटल की सरचना पानी के विशालकाय भण्डारण हेतु उपयुक्त है अथवा नही, यह तो विषय-विशेषज्ञ ही बता सकते हैं, और यही मूलत विवाद का वर्तमान कारण है। परन्तु यह स्पष्ट है कि प्राकृतिक जल सचयन और उपयोग हेतु हमारे पास इससे अधिक उपयुक्त स्थान हिमालय की इन घाटियो मे उपलब्ध नही है। टिहरी बाध परियोजना के स्थल की भूगर्भीय परिस्थिति क्या है, इसे अन्तिम रूप से कैसे कहा जा सकता है? निश्चय ही हमारा ज्ञान श्रेष्ठता के अन्तिम एव उच्चतम शिखर पर नही है। किसी भी विषय मे नही है। अत यदि हमारा आज का श्रेष्ठतम वैज्ञानिक भी अपनी किसी भी प्रकार की राय देता है तो उसे हम अन्तिम राय तो नही ही कह सकते। इस क्षेत्र की सबसे बडी विशेषता होगी मानसूनी जल का भरपूर सदुपयोग। साल भर विद्युत उत्पादन, वर्ष भर हजारो उद्योगों हेतु विद्युत तथा बाढ नियन्त्रण हेतु श्रेष्ठतम उपाय।

टिहरी का इतिहास :

टिहरी नगर की स्थापना २८ दिसम्बर सन् १८१५ मे महाराजा सुदर्शनशाह ने करायी थी। १४ मई १८०४ मे सुदर्शनशाह के पिता प्रद्युम्नशाह खुडबुडा (देहरादून) मे गोरखो से लडाई मे लडते हुए वीरगति को प्राप्त हुए। नेपाली राज्य के सेनापति अमरसिंह थापा ने कुछ समय तक टिहरी मे राज किया फिर अग्रेजो से गोरखो की हार हुई। इसी के पश्चात् सुदर्शनशाह व अग्रेजो मे सिगोली की सन्धि हुई। सुदर्शनशाह को टिहरी व उत्तरकाशी का राजा बनाया गया और पौडी व चमोली को अग्रेजो ने हस्तगत कर लिया। यहाँ पर नदियो के सगम होने के कारण इसे 'त्रिहरी' का नाम दिया गया जो बाद मे टिहरी कहलाया। शाह वश के बाद टिहरी पर पवार वशी राजाओ की छ पुश्तो ने राज किया।

टिहरी बाध परियोजना :

टिहरी क्षेत्र को बाध निर्माण के लिए उपयुक्त पाये जाने के बाद टिहरी बाँध परियोजना सन् १९६९ मे बनी थी। सन् १९७` मे योजना आयोग ने इस परियोजना को स्वीकृति दी तथा सन् १९७६ मे उत्तरप्रदेश सरकार ने टिहरी बाध परियोजना को स्वीकृति दी। इस बाध के बन जाने पर भारत विश्व का पहला देश होगा, जहा इतनी ऊंचाई पर एक बडी ऊर्जा शक्ति वाला बाँध होगा।

टिहरी बांध ऋषिकेश से लगभग ८५ किलोमीटर दूर भागीरथी और भिलगाना नदी के सगम से लगभग १.५ किलोमीटर नीचे की ओर बनाया जा रहा है। इस बाध की ऊचाई २६०.५ मीटर होगी व इसका निर्माण कक्रीट व चिकनी मिट्टी से

होगा। बाध के शीर्ष की चौडाई २० मीटर, लम्बाई लगभग ५७५ मीटर तथा शीर्ष सतह ३३६ ५ मीटर होगी। सन् १६७२ मे टिहरी बाध से ६५० मेगावाट शक्ति की परियोजना बनायी गयी थी तथा इसके निर्माण कार्य मे २०० करोड रुपये की राशि का निर्धारण किया गया। परन्तु अब टिहरी बाध लगभग २४०० मेगावाट शक्ति वाली एक विशाल योजना है और इस पर सम्भावित व्यय ३,००० करोड रुपये होने की सम्भावना है तथा अब तक इस बाध पर लगभग ५०० करोड रुपये की राशि व्यय हो चुकी है।

टिहरी बाध के निर्माण मे बने जलाशय का फैलाव भागीरथी नदी मे ४४ किलोमीटर तक एव भिलगना नदी मे २५ किलोमीटर तक होगा। इस जलाशय का सामान्य क्षेत्रफल ४२ वर्ग कि० मी० होगा, किन्तु मानसून काल मे यह क्षेत्रफल लगभग ४८ वर्ग कि० मी० होगा। इस जलाशय मे पानी भरने के कारण टिहरी नगर व २२ गाव पूर्ण रूप से एव आसपास के लगभग ७० गाव आशिक रूप से डूबेगे।

टिहरी बाध परियोजना के अन्तर्गत तेज जल-प्रवाह वाली चार सुरगे (टी-१, टी-२, टी-३ एव टी-४) का निर्माण पूर्ण हो चुका है तथा इस समय 'काफर बाध' के प्रथम चरण का निर्माण लगभग १२ ६१ करोड रुपये की लागत से शीघ्र ही पूरा किया जाना है। वस्तुत यह कार्य १५ जुलाई १६६० तक अर्थात् मानसून के पूर्ण प्रभावकाल से पूर्व ही समाप्त हो जाना चाहिए क्योकि इससे पहले नदी मे पानी कम होता है। इस कार्य को करने के लिए मिट्टी व पत्थरो का छोटा-सा अवरोध नदी के बहाव मार्ग मे खडा करके नदी को दक्षिणी किनारे की टी—३ एव टी—४ सुरगो मे कर दिया गया है। बहाव मार्ग बदलने के कारण नदी सूख गयी है व वहा पर नदी की २०-३० मीटर की खुदाई करके इसमे चिकनी मिट्टी एव कक्रीट भरा जाना है।

टिहरी बाध परियोजना के अन्तर्गत बनायी गयी सुरगो का व्यास ११ मीटर है। यह मुख्यत भागीरथी के पानी को मोडने के लिए बनायी गयी है। और इन सुरगो का दूसरा मुख्य कार्य जलप्रवाह को तेज करना होगा। टिहरी बाध की सक्रिय सचयन क्षमता २६१ ५० करोड घन मीटर होगी।

टिहरी बाध परियोजनान्तर्गत विस्थापन एव पुनर्वास

टिहरी बाध बनने के कारण इस क्षेत्र के जलमग्न हो जाने से १२,००० के लगभग टिहरी नगर के निवासी एव लगभग ३४,००० ग्रामवासी विस्थापित किए जा रहे हैं। टिहरी नगर एव डूब क्षेत्र के गाव, भूमि व भवनो का अध्याप्तिकरण किया

जा रहा है। नया टिहरी नगर पुराने टिहरी नगर से लगभग २६ कि०मी० की दूरी पर बसाया जा रहा है। विस्थापन एव पुनर्वास योजना के अन्तर्गत जो ग्रामीण व भूस्वामी भूमि के बदले भूमि लेना चाहते हैं, उन्हे देहरादून मे वन-भूमि कृषि योग्य बना कर दी जा रही है। देहरादून मे डोईवाला के निकट भानियावाला, रायवाला, तथा हरिद्वार जनपद मे पथरी ब्लाक मे पुनर्वास योजना के अन्तर्गत विस्थापितो को बसाया जा चुका है व कुछ को बसाया जा रहा है। विस्थापितो को सहायता दो प्रकार मे दी जायेगी— या तो भूमि के बदले भूमि और या फिर भूमि के बदले पैसा। निजी भवनो का मूल्य वर्तमान निर्माण दरो पर निकाला जायेगा। इस मूल्य का भवन की आयु के आधार पर अवमूल्यन कर प्रतिकर की धनराशि दी जायेगी। प्राईवेट, सार्वजनिक सस्थानो (धर्मशाला, स्कूल, कार्यालय) इत्यादि के भवनो के लिए अनुग्रह अनुदान राशि भवनो के अनुसार ही दी जानी है। इसके लिए निम्न व अधिकतम सीमा लागू नही होगी।

टिहरी नगर व गाव के भू-स्वामियो को निजी भूमि का प्रतिकर पाच रुपया प्रति वर्गगज की दर से दिया जायेगा। निजी भूमि का प्रतिकर भूमि अध्याप्ति नियमों के अनुसार दिया गया है अथवा दिया जाना है। भू-स्वामी यदि भूमि के बदले भूमि चाहते हैं तो उनको जितनी भूमि उनके पास थी, उसी के बराबर वन-भूमि देहरादून जिले मे कृषि योग्य बना कर दी जा रही है। किसी भी परिवार को दो एकड़ से कम और साढे बारह एकड से अधिक भूमि नही मिलेगी। ग्रामीण क्षेत्र मे भूमिहीन कृषि श्रमिक परिवारो को भी दो एकड भूमि प्रति परिवार दिया जाना निश्चित किया गया है। प्रत्येक विस्थापित परिवार को अपना सामान, पशु इत्यादि को अपने नये निवास पर ले जाने के लिए विस्थापित अनुदान भी दिया गया है, जो परिवार भूमि के बदले भूमि लेकर पुनर्वास स्थल पर बसे हैं, उन्हे कृषि कार्य आरम्भ करने हेतु भी आर्थिक सहायता प्रति परिवार दी जा रही है। नये पुनर्वास स्थलो पर स्कूल, डाकघर, अस्पताल इत्यादि भी बनाये जायेगे। पेयजल एव सिंचाई की सुविधा प्रदान करने की व्यवस्था की बाते भी की जा रही हैं।

टिहरी बाध परियोजना के कारण विस्थापित टिहरी नगरवासी व ग्राम-वासियो मे से अधिकाश विस्थापितो को पुनर्वास प्रस्तावित अथवा प्रदान की जा चुकी है व शेष जो पुनर्वास सुविधा से अभी तक वचित हैं, उन्हे पुनर्वास सुविधा शीघ्र ही देने के पूर्ण प्रयास जारी हैं।

टिहरी बाध परियोजना के अन्तर्गत विस्थापितो मे से अधिकांश परिवार शासन से मुआवजा भी ले चुके हैं। प्रश्न उठना स्वाभाविक है कि आज आमरण अनशन पर बैठने वाले विगत दशक मे चुप क्यो थे, तथा अचानक ही इनका प्रकृति प्रेम ज्वार की तरह क्यो बढ़ने लगा। इसे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मुद्दा बनाने की चेष्टा करना देश के उस

प्रबुद्ध वैज्ञानिक तथा तकनीकीवर्ग के साथ अन्याय होगा, जिसने लगभग एक दशक के समय मे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मानदण्डो तथा उपलब्ध ज्ञानविज्ञान का भरपूर उपयोग करते हुए योजना का ब्लू-प्रिन्ट तैयार किया और इसे सम्पूर्ण सफलता की ओर ले जाने के लिए कटिबद्ध हैं। दूसरी ओर आन्दोलनकर्त्ताओ की प्राय तकनीकि पृष्ठभूमि नही रही है। सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता, पर्यावरणजिज्ञासु, पर्यावरणप्रेमी तथा समाज के राष्ट्रीय हितो को लेकर जन-जागरण करना, तथा सरकार और जनता के बीच विकास कार्यों मे अपनी सूझबूझ तथा अनुभवो के आधार पर सम्पर्क कायम करके विकास को एक सही दिशा देने का प्रयास करना एक नितान्त ही अलग क्षेत्र है तथा तकनीकि वैज्ञानिक एव आर्थिक मसलो मे वैचारिक मतभेद पैदा करना एक दूसरा ही क्षेत्र है। क्या हम यह मान लें कि बाधविरोधी पर्यावरणप्रेमीजन हमारी सरकार के उस वैज्ञानिकवर्ग से अधिक ज्ञान सम्पन्न है, जिसने टिहरी बाध योजना के ब्लू-प्रिन्ट तैयार किए होगे ? सरकार बिना सोचे समझे करोड़ो लोगो के भविष्य को अनदेखा कर कोई विकास योजना बनायेगी, यह विचार ही हास्यास्पद है। बाध की वजह से जितनी भी भूमि तथा वन जलमग्न होने जा रहे है, वह पैदा की जाने वाली उर्जा के सापेक्ष नगण्य हैं, सत्य तो यह है कि उस क्षेत्र मे वन नाममात्र को ही है। योजना विरोधी कई प्रबुद्धजन प्राय सरकार की वन नीति तथा यूकेलिप्टस रोपण अभियान का मुखर विरोध करते रहे है, लेकिन उनके पास उन योजनाओ का कोई विकल्प कभी नही रहा है। अत पर्यावरण तथा विस्थापन का हौवा खडा कर एक समृद्धिशाली योजना को—जिसे आज से ५–६ वर्ष पूर्व ही पूर्ण हो जाना चाहिए था—अब और अधिक समय के लिए टालना—हमारी दृष्टि से एक बडी भूल और अदूरदर्शिता ही होगी।

टिहरी बाध परियोजना विवादास्पद क्यो ?

योजनान्तर्गत आज जब बाध निर्माण का लगभग आधा कार्य हो चुका है, तब भी विवाद उत्पन्न किए जा रहे है कि टिहरी मे इतनी अधिक ऊचाई वाला बाध बनना चाहिए या नही। मतभेद केवल वैज्ञानिको, इजीनियरो, पर्यावरण वैज्ञानिको व राजनैतिक व्यक्तियो तक ही सीमित नही है, बल्कि आम जनता मे भी सम्पूर्ण तथ्यो के अभाव मे विवाद है, कुछ का कहना है कि बाध बनना चाहिए, यदि विकास करना है और कुछ का कहना है कि बाध बनने से यदि किसी कारण–वश कुछ दुर्घटना होती है तो सम्पूर्ण गगाघाटी का विनाश सुनिश्चित है। इसी विवाद के कारण स्वय टिहरी की जनता भी दो गुटो मे बट गयी है। एक खेमा बाँध बनाये जाने का समर्थन करता है तो दूसरा खेमा इसका विरोध करता है। लेकिन दुर्घटना कही भी घट सकती है, प्राकृतिक प्रकोप दिल्ली मे भी हो सकता है। युद्धकाल मे राष्ट्र की कोई भी सम्पदा सुरक्षित नही कही जा सकती।

टिहरी बाध का विरोध सम्भवत: सर्वप्रथम सन् १९६५ मे सामने आया जब यह कहा गया कि—यदि टिहरी बाध का निर्माण होता है तो टिहरी का राजमहल व सस्कृति जलमग्न हो जायेगी और ऐसे विकास कार्य जो हमारी सस्कृति पर आघात हैं, नही अपनाये। इसके पश्चात् सन् १९६८ मे श्री विद्यासागर नौटियाल की अध्यक्षता मे श्री रामेश्वरनन्द सकलानी व श्री चन्द्रसिंह असवाल ने टिहरी बाध का विरोध किया। सन् १९८५ मे टिहरी बाध विरोधी सघर्ष समिति ने सर्वोच्च न्यायालय मे एक याचिका दायर की जो अभी तक विचाराधीन है। टिहरी बाध परियोजना के विरोध का समर्थन बाबा आम्टे, स्वामी अग्निवेश, बाबा नागार्जुन व पर्यावरणप्रेमी प्रसिद्ध चिपको नेता श्री सुन्दरलाल बहुगुणा सरीखे प्रबुद्ध एव जाने-माने समाजसेवी लोग कर रहे हैं।

दिसम्बर १९८९ तथा जनवरी १९९० मे श्री सुन्दरलाल बहुगुणा, टिहरी बाँध के निर्माण को रोकने की माँग को लेकर अनशन पर बैठे। लेखक का अपना विचार है कि इस प्रकार का विरोध विकास के पक्ष मे दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण अवरोधी घटना ही है। केन्द्रीय पर्यावरण व वन मत्री मेनका गाधी व राज्य सरकारो की अपील का श्री बहुगुणा के आमरण अनशन पर कोई असर नही हुआ और तब सरकार ने बाँध निर्माण मे अस्थायी रोक लगाकर श्री बहुगुणा को बातचीत के लिए दिल्ली आमन्त्रित किया। और अब समस्त प्रकरण एक उच्च समिति को सौपा हुआ है। राजनैतिक दल दो भागो मे बट गये हैं बाद मे पुर्नविचार के उपरान्त बाध निर्माण कार्य पुन चालू कर दिया गया, यही उचित था।

टिहरी की आम जनता को कई परेशानियो का सामना करना पड रहा है, क्योकि सरकार व नगर प्रशासन का ध्यान पूरी तरह से बाँध की ओर केन्द्रित है तथा इस कारण से नगर मे नागरिक सुविधाओ, शिक्षा व अस्पताल आदि मे कोई व्यय नही किया जा रहा है। जहा टिहरी की जनता स्वस्थ वातावरण मे जीने की आदी रही है, वहा पर उन्हे आजकल धूल भरी हवा व गाद भरे पानी का उपभोग करना पड रहा है।

सन् १९८१ मे बाँध की स्थिरता का अध्ययन वाडिया इस्टीट्यूट ऑफ हिमालयन जियालोजी, देहरादून को सौंपा गया था। इस्टीट्यूट की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार टिहरी का यह क्षेत्र इतने विशाल बाध के लिए उपयुक्त नही है। रिपोर्ट मे यह भी कहा गया था कि भयकर भूस्खलन होने का खतरा हर समय बना रहेगा। रिपोर्ट के अनुसार जिस बाँध की उम्र १०० साल से अधिक बतायी जा रही है, वस्तुत ३०–४० वर्ष से अधिक नही होगी। वह भी तब जब भूस्खलन न हो। क्योकि पूर्वानुमान मे यह कहा गया था कि बाँध मे गाद (सिल्ट) भरने की वार्षिक दर ८१,३०० क्यूबिक मीटर थी, जो कि अब इस्टीट्यूट द्वारा सशोधित गणना के अनुसार १,५४,९०० क्यूबिक मीटर अर्थात् दुगनी हो गयी है। परियोजना निर्माण क्षेत्र मे पिछले ८० वर्षों मे लगभग

३७ बार हल्के भूकम्प आ चुके हैं। अगर इन तथ्यो पर ध्यान केन्द्रित किया जाये तो निश्चित ही इस बाँध से होने वाले लाभो पर प्रश्नचिन्ह लग जाते है कि विकास की कितनी कीमत चुकानी पड सकती है।

दूसरी ओर परियोजना से सम्बद्ध सोवियत सघ के प्रमुख विशेषज्ञ श्री डेवीडोव ने एक प्रेस विज्ञप्ति मे बताया कि बाँध निर्माण की सम्पूर्ण प्रक्रिया का निर्णय, उसकी मजबूती और विश्वसनीयता, भूकम्प के प्रभाव, और गाद भरने की दर व परिस्थितियो, निर्माण की लागत तथा पर्यावरण की सवेदनशीलता जैसे मुद्दो का पूरा ख्याल रख कर ही लिया गया है। परियोजना के चीफ डिजाईनर तथा रुडकी मे टिहरी हाईड्रो डैवलपमेन्ट कारपोरेशन लिमिटेड के कार्यकारी निदेशक श्री बी० एल० जटान, का कहना है कि बाँध की अक्षुण्णता की न्यूनतम अवधि १०० साल होगी, जबकि जलग्रहण क्षेत्रो मे निरन्तर सुधार से यह अवधि १६० साल तक हो सकेगी।

यदि टिहरी बांध की तुलना हिमालय पर्वत की पश्चिमी शृखलाओ मे बने बाँधो से करे तो स्थिति स्पष्ट होती है जो निम्न प्रकार से है —

क्र स बाँध का नाम	ऊचाई (मी)	जल सचयन क्षमता (मिलियन क्यू मीटर)	जलाशय क्षेत्रफल (वर्ग कि मी)
१—तारबेला (पाकिस्तान)	१४३.००	१३६६०.००	२८०.००
२—भागला (पाकिस्तान)	१३८.००	७२५ ००	१६० ००
३—भाखडा (हि० प्र०)	२२६ ००	६६२१.००	१६६.००
४—व्यास (हि० प्र०)	१३३.००	८५७० ००	२६० ००
५—पन्डोह (हि० प्र०)	७६ ००	४१ ००	१ ६५
६—रामगगा (उ० प्र०)	१२८ ००	२४४२ ००	७८ ००
७—टिहरी (उ० प्र०) निर्माणाधीन	२६०.५०	३५४०.००	४२.००
८—थीन (पजाब) निर्माणाधीन	१६०.००	३२८०.००	३७.६

प्रथम छ बाँध, टिहरी जैसी पहाडियो पर ही बनाये गये हैं, व अपने-अपने क्षेत्र के विकास करने मे खरे उतरे है। जैसे कि कहा जा रहा है कि टिहरी बाँध बनने से पहाडो मे रेगिस्तान बन जायेगा, यह तथ्य बिल्कुल गलत साबित है। क्योकि जहा भी ये बाँध बने हैं, वहा पर ऐसी सम्भावना के लेशमात्र भी चिन्ह नही हैं।

बाँध निर्माण से सम्बन्धित अधिकारियो के अनुसार यदि अब बाँध का निर्माण कार्य बद किया जाता है तो इस पर हुआ लगभग ५०० करोड रुपया तो व्यर्थ जायेगा ही बल्कि सभी कार्यों एव अनुबन्धनो को बन्द करने के लिए १०० करोड रुपये और व्यय करने पडेगे तथा स्थानीय जनता को बहुत विषमताओ का सामना करना पड सकता है। अत टिहरी बाध निर्माण का विरोध अब इस स्थिति मे करना बिल्कुल उच्चित नही है।

जहा तक भूकम्प से बाँध को खतरे की बात है तो बाँध निर्माण का तकनीकि ज्ञान अब इतनी उन्नति कर चुका है कि किसी भी भूकम्प के झटके झेलने योग्य ऊचा से ऊचा बाँध बनाया जा सकता है। विभिन्न देशो मे अत्यधिक भूकम्पीय क्षेत्र मे पहले भी कई विशाल बांध बनाये जा चुके है, जो कि सही कार्य कर रहे है। ये विशाल बांध जो कि भूकम्पीय क्षेत्र मे बनाये गये हैं, इस प्रकार से है :—

क्र स	बाँध का नाम	देश	ऊचाई (मी०)	रिक्टर स्केल पर भूकम्पीय सवेदनशीलता
१—	रमून	रूस	३३५ ००	६
२—	न्यूरेक	रूस	३०० ००	६
३—	ओरोविले	अमेरिका	२३२.००	७
४—	आयावाकिक	टर्की	१७५ ००	८
५—	चिकासिन	मैक्सिको	२६४ ००	७
६—	केवन	टर्की	२०७ ००	७
७—	तारबेल	पाकिस्तान	१४५ ००	६
८—	होडा	वैनिजुएला	१३० ००	११
९ —	मैवोरो	जापान	१३१.००	१०
१०—	भाखडा	भारत	२२६ ००	७
११—	टिहरी (निर्माणाधीन)	भारत	२६० ००	६

विश्व मे उपरोक्त सभी ११ विशाल बाँध भूकम्पीय क्षेत्रो के अन्तर्गत ही बनाये हुए है, व अभी तक किसी भी बाँध को भूकम्पीय परिकम्पन के कारण क्षति नही पहुची है और जिन बाँधो को भूकम्पीय परिकम्पन के कारण नुकसान हुआ है वे या तो उन्नीसवी शताब्दी के अन्त मे या फिर बीसवी शताब्दी के आरम्भ मे ही क्षतिग्रस्त हुए। जब

बाँध निर्माण का तकनीकि ज्ञान अविकसित था तथा बाँध शहरो की जलपूर्ति के लिए छोटे-छोटे अभियन्ताओ द्वारा निर्मित किए जाते थे। सरकार द्वारा उपलब्ध सूचनाओ के अनुसार टिहरी बाँध के विकास मे अब भारतवर्ष के सभी सम्बन्धित सस्थाओ के विशेषज्ञो की राय ली गयी है, जो अपने क्षेत्र मे अद्वितीय हैं। टिहरी बाँध का डिजाईन पूर्ण रूप से सुरक्षित कहा जा रहा है।

टिहरी बाँध परियोजना का हल केवल वैज्ञानिक व इजीनियर्स ही सही-सही बता सकते हैं। अत समाजसेवी सस्थाओ व राजनैतिक दलो को इस विषय मे अपनी काल्पनिक तकनीकि राय देने का कोई औचित्य स्पष्ट नही होता। अत. हमे इस तथ्य को स्वीकार करके ही चलना चाहिए कि इसके बारे मे वैज्ञानिको व इजीनियरो से बेहतर कोई नही सोच सकता और न ही सही फैसला दे सकता है। अत विवाद को पूर्ण रूप से विशेषज्ञो पर ही छोड देना उचित है। वरना स्थिति सुधरने के बजाये बिगड सकती है। क्योकि जलूस निकालने से, भूख-हडताल करने से, अनशन करने से किसी तकनीकी समस्या का हल नही खोजा जा सकता।

परियोजना के उपेक्षित आयाम :—

इस प्रकार की किसी भी विशाल परियोजना के बनने पर स्थानीय पर्यावरण मे उथल-पुथल होना, कई महत्वपूर्ण बिन्दुओ का उपेक्षित होना तथा स्थानीय जनता को विस्थापन एव जन्मभूमि वियोग के दुख झेलना, अपरिहार्य हो जाता है। तब भी सामान्य दृष्टि से जिन तथ्यो के प्रति सचेतन रहने की अपेक्षा की जाती है, ऐसे कई तथ्यो को या तो नजरअन्दाज कर दिया गया है, अथवा उन पर अभी अपेक्षित कार्यवाही होनी शेष है, इस दृष्टि से निम्न तथ्य विचारणीय हो जाते है —

(१) टिहरी बाँध स्थल सेस्मिक क्षेत्र मे आता है, इस तथ्य को नकारा नहीं जा सकता, परन्तु बाँध की ऊचाई तथा बाँध के 'रौक फिल' बन्धन के पारस्परिक अनुपात को सुदृढ करने हेतु क्या सावधानियाँ बर्ती गयी हैं, यह स्पष्ट नहीं है।

(२) भागीरथी का ऊपरी जलागम क्षेत्र अत्याधिक भू-क्षरण का क्षेत्र है अत. सिल्टेशन को रोकने, बाँध मे गाद भरने की दर को कम करने और बाँध की अपेक्षित आयु को बढाने मे छोटे-छोटे अवरोधक बन्धो का ऊपरी जलागम क्षेत्र की समस्त सहयोग छोटी-छोटी पहाडी नदियो पर बनना आवश्यक होगा, परियोजना मे इसकी व्यवस्था स्पष्ट नही है अथवा इसका प्रावधान ही नही है ? जो भी हो, यह एक अत्यन्त गम्भीर सरचना होगी। अब और भी ज्यादा क्योकि आने वाले वर्षों मे इस

क्षेत्र मे सरकारी सद्प्रयासो के बावजूद और भी अधिक वन कटाव को रोका नही जा सकेगा। अत भू-क्षरण की गति बढेगी, विकास कार्यों हेतु भू-खनन बढ रहा है, तथा टूरिज्म भी बढ रहा है।

(३) इस क्षेत्र मे नदियो मे मछलियो के आवागमन मे ऐसे बाध एक बाधा हैं, पहले ही हिमालय क्षेत्र से 'माहसेर' सरीखी मछली की श्रेष्ठतम किस्म लुप्त होने की स्थिति मे पहुच चुकी है, अब यह समस्या और भी गम्भीर हो जायेगी, क्योकि मत्स्य भ्रमण पथो का इस बाध शृखला मे कोई स्थान नही है। हाँ बाँध से तो मत्स्य पालन उद्योग की बहुत अधिक उत्पादन की क्षमता हैं, पर भागीरथी के निचले क्षेत्र से 'माहसेर' सरीखी मछलियो का हमेशा-हमेशा के लिए समाप्त हो जाना निश्चित हो जायेगा।

(४) टिहरी बाँध क्षेत्र मे किसी प्रकार की भू-स्थलीय विकृति पैदा होने पर या दुर्घटनावश बाँध के टूटने पर मैदानी क्षेत्रो मे जो तबाही हो सकती हैं उसके बचाव के लिए स्थान-स्थान पर अवरोधक बनाने होगे, चैक डैम, की तरह ही तथा निचली घाटियो मे जलप्रवाह मे दिशापरिवर्तन की स्थितियाँ भी पैदा करनी होगी।

(५) समस्त ऊपरी तथा निचले क्षेत्र मे स्थानिक प्रजातियो का विशाल वृक्षारोपण होना आवश्यक है। इस विषय मे मौखिक आश्वासनो के अतिरिक्त अभी तक कोई ठोस कदम नही उठाया गया है।

टिहरी बाँध परियोजना से लाभ :—

टिहरी बाँध परियोजना एक बहुउद्देशीय विशाल जल-विद्युत ऊर्जा शक्तिवाली परियोजना है, जिससे निम्नलिखित लाभ होगे :—

१—टिहरी बाँध परियोजना से ३५६.७० करोड यूनिट वार्षिक विद्युत उत्पादन होगा। इस तरह से प्रदेश मे विद्युत की पूर्ति होगी व उद्योग स्थापित करने मे सहायता होगी। जिसका फायदा बेरोजगारो को होगा। ३५६.७० करोड यूनिट मे करीब १५०० उद्योग लग सकते हैं तथा उद्योगो मे लगभग ४० लाख बेरोजगारो को रोजगार की सुविधा उपलब्ध हो सकती है। उत्तराखण्ड के अधिकाश क्षेत्रो मे गांव-गाव मे बिजली उपलब्ध करायी जा सकेगी। तथा स्वरोजगार के लिए बेरोजगारो को कुटीर उद्योगों के लिए विद्युत सुलभ की जा सकेगी।

२—टिहरी बाँध के बनने से २.७ लाख हैक्टेयर भूमि सिंचित हो सकेगी, जिससे देश मे अतिरिक्त अनाज का उत्पादन कर निर्यात किया जा सकता है। तथा देश खाद्य पदार्थों व अनाज मे आत्मनिर्भर होगा।

३—बाँध बन जाने के कारण क्षेत्र मे पर्यटन स्थल बना कर क्षेत्र का विकास किया जाना है, जिससे राज्य सरकार व केन्द्र सरकार दोनो ही लाभान्वित होगे। पर्यटन स्थल बनने से उत्तराखण्ड की संस्कृति और उभर कर सामने लायी जा सकती है।

४—टिहरी बाँध बनने के बाद लुप्त होती मत्स्य प्रजातियो की सुरक्षा को विकसित किया जायेगा, मतस्य पालन के लिए २८७ लाख एकड़ फीट पानी उपलब्ध कराया जा सकेगा।

५—टिहरी बाँध बन जाने से विद्युत सचालित 'रोप वे' गगोत्री, जमनोत्री, बद्रीनाथ, केदारनाथ व फूलो की घाटी के लिए बनायी जा सकती है, जिससे यात्रियो को बहुत सुविधा होगी तथा यात्रा करने मे पैसा भी बचेगा और समय भी, और इससे पर्वतीय जनता की अर्थव्यवस्था भी सुधरेगी।

६—विद्युत उत्पादन बढने से क्षेत्र के लकडी उद्योग को भी फायदा होगा, जो लकडिया (चीड, देवदार, साल, सागौन, खैर, तून आदि) पहाडो से कट कर मैदानो मे आती थी तथा वहा से बनकर सामान वापिस पहाडो मे बिकता था, बाध बन जाने के बाद उद्योग लगाकर माल यही पर तैयार किया जा सकेगा।

७—ऊपरी गगनहर, निचली गगनहर एव आगरा नहर के द्वारा पानी की कमी पूर्ण होगी तथा सिंचाई व पेयजल की समस्या का भी समाधान होगा।

८ गग नहर पर बने आठ छोटे-छोटे विद्युतग्रहो से टिहरी बाध बनने के बाद विद्युत उत्पादन पहले से दुगना किया जा सकेगा।

९—मानसून मे नदियो के कारण जो बाढ का खतरा प्रतिवर्ष पहाडो की तराई क्षेत्रो मे तथा मैदानो मे बना रहता था, अब टिहरी बाँध बन जाने से इससे मुक्ति मिल सकेगी।

१०—पहाड की महिलाए अपनी ईधन की आवश्यकता के लिए सदियो से जगल पर आश्रित रही हैं। चूल्हा फूकने से स्वास्थ्य के दुष्परिणाम सर्वविदित ही है, यदि पूर्ण विद्युतीकरण और उत्पादक मूल्य पर पहाड़ो मे बिजली उपलब्ध हो तो पर्वतीय नारी चूल्हे को छोडकर आधुनिक उपकरणो से रसोई का काम निपटा सकेगी। इससे ईधन के लिए वनो पर आश्रित भी नही होना पडेगा व वन सम्पदा बची रहेगी तथा वायु प्रदूषण मे भी कमी आयेगी।

११—टिहरी बाँध परियोजना के अन्तर्गत ४२ वर्ग किलोमीटर क्षेत्र मे बन रहे जलाशय से कई लाभ हैं। जलाशय बनने के बाद निचले इलाको की भूमि के

भीतर (परक्यूलेशन) पानी का दवाब ऊपर उठता है, जिसले स्वत ही आस-पास की भूमि सिंचित हो जाती है। शिवालिक पहाडियो और विशेषकर दून घाटी के आसपास के प्राकृतिक पानी के स्रोत जो अब बन्द हो गये हैं उनमे भी पानी आने की सम्भावना से इकार नही किया जा सकता। साथ-साथ पश्चिमी उत्तरप्रदेश के मैदानी भागो मे भूमि से निकलने वाले पानी का जलस्तर १० से १२ फीट तक बढ़ने की सम्भावना है।

१२ – बरसात मे गगानदी पहाडो को काट कर मिट्टी वहाकर नदियो के मुहाने पर दोआब बनाती है, जिससे नदियो का स्तर ऊचा उठ जाता है व इसका असर नदी के वेग (वैलोसिटी; पर पडता है। वेग कम होने से भी बाढ के खतरे अधिक हो जाते हैं। टिहरी बाँध इन सब खतरो पर नियत्रण करा सकेगा।

११—पर्वतो से रोजगार के लिए जो पलायन होता रहा है, वह टिहरी बाँध बन जाने से काफी हद तक रुकेगा, क्योकि कई उद्योग लगाये जा सकेगे, जिसमे स्थानीय लोगो को सर्वप्रथम रोजगार दिया जायेगा। तथा शिक्षित बेरोजगार भी कुटीर उद्योग धन्धे लगा कर अपनी अथव्यवस्था सुधार सकेंगे। टिहरी बाँध बन जाने के बाद लगभग ४०–४५ लाख बेरोजगार युवको को रोजगार मिल सकेगा, जिससे देश की बेरोजगारी समस्या को हल करने मे काफी मदद मिलेगी।

अन्त मे, केवल इतना कि टिहरी बाँध के निर्माण मे पहले ही बहुत देर हो चुकी है, जिसकी वजह से योजना का व्यय क्षमता के बाहर हो गया और विकास की गति रुकी हुई है। इस योजना की सही व्यवस्था से न केवल पर्यावरण, सुरक्षा, सवर्द्धन तथा विकास के आयाम बढेगे, अपितु समस्त क्षेत्र मे आर्थिक विकास के नये आयाम भी पोषित होंगे। काल्पनिक खतरो के भय से तथा राजनीति प्रेरित विरोध के दबाव मे आकर योजना मे ढील देना अथवा अब उस पर पुर्नविचार करना उचित प्रतीत नही होता। छोटे-छोटे 'डाम' बनाकर विद्युत उत्पादन तथा सिचाई की योजनाऐ बनाना निश्चय ही अधिक सुरक्षात्मक एव सरल उपाय होता, उसमे सभवत इतना विस्थापन तथा पर्यावरणक्षरण एव आर्थिक व्यय भी न होता और पर्यावरण विकाश के आयामो मे वृद्धि होती लेकिन अब जबकि स्थानीय जनमानस विस्थापन हेतु एक मनोवैज्ञानिक वातावरण बना चुका है, स्थानीय पर्यावरण मे विकृति पैदा की जा चुकी है, नया टिहरी निर्मित किया जा चुका है तो एक अनिश्चित भविष्य को भयावह विकृतियो के सदेह मे लाकर विकास की विशालतम योजना मे अवरोध पैदा करना, अपूरणीय राष्ट्रीय क्षति ही होगी। हम सभी पर्यावरण ही नही सम्पूर्ण प्रकृति के पुजारी है पर करोडो लोगो के आर्थिक विकास से सम्बद्ध योजना हेतु कही पर किसी न किसी को त्याग करना ही होगा–वह त्याग भी एक अत्यत समर्थ एव पवित्र सहयोग है।

गंगा–हिमालय पर्यावरण :

बड़े बाँध–दुष्परिणाम

टिहरी का विरोध क्यों ?

—वि० शंकर

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

बड़े बाँध बनाने की बुद्धिमता के बारे में गम्भीर सदेह है। इस लेख में बड़े बाँध बनाने से होने वाले पर्यावरण असन्तुलन, भूमि-अपरदन, बाढ़, सिल्टेशन मे वृद्धि जंगलो की सफाई और उससे होने वाले गम्भीरपरिणामों को स्पष्ट किया गया है। ऊर्जा और सिंचाई के लिए छोटे बाँध और सौय ऊर्जा की सिफारिश की गई है जो बड़े बाँधो का विकल्प बन सकते हैं और हमे पर्यावरण अपकर्ष से बचा सकते हे। भारत एक गर्म देश है यहां धूप की कमी नही है। फिर हम इसका पूर्ण लाभ क्यों नहीं उठा पा रहे है। हमे अन्य देशो की हर बात में नकल करने की क्या आवश्यकता है। हमारे पास पहले ही वन क्षेत्र कम हैं अपरदन की दर अधिक है फिर हम ऐसी योजनायें क्यो चालू करें जिनसे वन-क्षेत्र और अधिक कम होते जावे और अपरदन मे वृद्धि हो। हम अपनी मूल्यवान प्राकृतिक निधि का जी जान से संरक्षण करें न कि विनाश।

भारत एक ऐसा देश है जहां भूमि के एक बड़े क्षेत्र मे बाढ़ आती है और इससे भी बड़े क्षेत्र सूखे के प्रकोप का भाजन बनते हैं। किसी भी नदी के बेसिन मे किसी भी प्रकार का विकास कार्य हाथ में लेते समय निम्नलिखित तथ्य दृष्टि में रहने चाहियें :

१—भारत की भूमि का क्षेत्र विश्व का २.४% है जबकि मिट्टी की हानि विश्व की १८.५% है।

२—विश्व के अनेक भागों में गहरे जलाशय सेस्मिक एक्टिविटी बढ़ाते हैं।

३—कोई भी आर्थिक विकास तब ही चल सकेगा जब वह पर्यावरण की दृष्टि से स्वस्थ होगा।

४—अपनी भूमि सम्पदा को दीर्घकालीन दृष्टि में देखना चाहिये न कि अल्पकालीन।

५—अच्छा पर्यावरण-प्रबन्ध वह होता है जिससे प्रदूषण न हो, अपरदन न हो और सम्पदा की ऐसी हानि न हो जो पूरी ही न हो सके।

६—जिन देशों के वनक्षेत्र पहले से ही कम हे और आगे भी कम होते जा रहे हों, और भारत उनमें से एक है, वहां ऐसी कोई विकास योजना नहीं बनानी चाहिये जिससे बडे पैमाने पर जगल साफ करने पडें।

सेस्मिक जोन, जलाशय और भूकंम्प

वर्तमान में बडे बांधो में अत्यन्त विवादास्पद टिहरी बांध (२६०.५ मी. ऊचाई) ने अनेक लोगो का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है। यह इसलिये कि बाध विश्व के सबसे बडे बाधों में आता है और पर्यावरण की दृष्टि से स्वस्थ नही है। साथ ही बाध सैस्मिक जोन मे बनाया जा रहा है। बाध के जलाशय मे जो २.६२ मिलियन एकड फीट जलएकत्रित किया जायेगा उसका भार ३ २ बिलियन टन होगा जो जलाशय पर पडेगा जिससे भूकम्प आने को आशका है। बाध के क्षेत्र में Thrusts, Shear zones, Faults है। उपरोक्त सब बातो के कारण भूकम्प आने और बाध के टूटने की आशका बनी हुई है। आकड बताते है कि जलाशय मे जल की ऊँचाई और भूकम्प में निश्चित सम्बन्ध है जिन जलाशयों की ऊँचाई १५०–२५० मी० थी उनमे ३०% से भूकम्प आये (हर्ष गुप्ता १९८६) बाध टूटने से गंगा का जल २०० फीट ऊँचा होकर बहेगा। ऋषिकेश हरिद्वार का तो अस्तित्व ही समाप्त हो जायेगा, सम्पूर्ण गगा बेसिन तहस-नहस हो जायेगा। यह खतरा इतना बडा है कि इसके सामने बाध से होने वाले लाभ, विद्युत उत्पादन (अनुमानित ३५६७० करोड़ यूनिट) एव सिचाई सुविधाये (२ ७ लाख है० भूमि) नगण्य हो जाते है। विद्युत उत्पादन और सिचाई सुविधाये छोटे-२ बांधो से भी प्राप्त हो सकती है जिनमे उपरलिखित खतरे नही है। अतः अनेक विचारशील लोगो का मत है कि टिहरी बाँध का बनाना बुद्धिमत्ता नही है। हमे अपनी प्राकृतिक निधि को इस तरह नष्ट करने और भूकम्प का खतरा मोल लेने का कोई हक नही है।

एक मत यह भी है कि जलाशय मे एकत्रित जल प्रदूषित हो जाता है। अतः यदि गगा जल की अद्भुत क्षमताये नष्ट हो जाती हैं तब इसका उत्तर-दायित्व किस पर होगा। कल बाध टूटने से यदि हरि की पौड़ो का अस्तित्व ही नहीं रहेगा तब वह लाखो करोड़ों लोग जिनकी आस्था का केन्द्र यह पौड़ो रही है उनकी क्या दशा होगो ? ये कुछ प्रश्न हैं जो प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के अन्तःकरण को झझोड़ रहे हैं। जो स्वाभाविक हैं।

ऊर्जा और सिचाई सुविधाओं के लिये जब सौर ऊर्जा और छोटे बांध हमारे सामने हैं तब हम बड़े बाध का जोखिम क्यों मोल ले रहे हैं।

सी०ए०जी० रिपोर्ट

भारत के कम्पट्रोलर एण्ड आडिटर जनरल की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार टिहरी बांध परियोजना आर्थिक दृष्टि से Viable नहीं है। साथ ही इससे क्षेत्र की इकोलोजी पर दुष्प्रभाव पड़ेगा। परियोजना के मूल्य के प्रत्येक पुनर्मूल्यांकन के साथ लागत : लाभ अनुपात (Cost-benefit ratio) गिरता चला गया है। रिपोर्ट में CAG ने जिआलाजीकल सर्वे ऑफ इण्डिया का ब्योरा देते हुए लिखा है कि GSI के अध्ययन के अनुसार बाध स्थल (dam site) Thrusts, Shear zones, Faults से छलनी है। बाध का क्षेत्र सेस्मिक जोनिंग मैप ऑफ इण्डिया के जान IV में आता है जोकि एक्टिव है। बाध बनाने की बढती हुई लागत, १९९६ तक ४००० करोड रुपये तक पहुच जायेगी, जबकि इसके लाभ, लागत के अनुपात में, नहीं बढेंगे।

परियोजना-स्थल के ८० से ३२० किमी. के त्रिज्या (रेडियस) में पिछले ८० वर्षों में ३६ भूकम्प आ चुके हैं।

बांध की चीन की सीमा से दूरी

विजय परंजपाए के अनुसार बांध-स्थल चीन की सीमा से केवल १०० किमी दूर स्थित है। अत स्वाभाविक है कि भारत-चीन युद्ध होने पर यह बाध पहला निशाना होगा। बाध की इकानामिक लाइफ विद्युत उत्पादन की दृष्टि से ६२ वर्ष से अधिक नहीं होगी। बाध बनने से कृषि-उत्पादन में वृद्धि जोकि १५७ करोड़ रु० बताई जा रही है वह केवल ६५ करोड रु० प्रति वर्ष होगी। इस प्रकार परंजपाय के अनुसार बाध पर आने वाली लागत के अनुपात मे बाध से जो लाभ प्राप्त होगे वह बहुत कम होंगे।

पर्यावरण अपकर्ष

बडे बांध बनाने में भूमि के एक बडे क्षेत्र से वन काटने पडते है और उसके दुष्परिणाम भोगने पडते हैं जैसे भूमि अपरदन सिल्टेशन मे वृद्धि, बाढ मे वृद्धि, मूल्यवान वनस्पतियाँ जो हमारी प्राकृतिक निधि हैं उनका विनाश। ऐसी कोई भी विकास योजना जिसमे भूमि के एक बड क्षेत्र से वन काटे जाने पडे पर्यावरण की दृष्टि से कभी स्वस्थ नही हो सकती। और यदि ऐसी योजना गंगा–हिमालय क्षेत्र में बनाई जा रही हो तब तो स्थिति और भी भयावह हो जाती है। ये योजनाये आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी कितनी स्वस्थ होगी इस पर भी प्रश्न चिन्ह है। जो जल, बिजली टिहरी बांध योजना से प्राप्त होगे उनकी प्रति इकाई मूल्य क्या आयेगा यह भी सामने आना चाहिये। कितनी लागत से कितना लाभ होगा इसका निश्चित अनुमान भी जनसाधारण को पता होना चाहिये।

भारत की संस्कृति गंगा-हिमालय की संस्कृति है। भारत का इतिहास गंगा-हिमालय का इतिहास है। भारत का पर्यावरण गंगा-हिमालय का पर्यावरण है। वेदों के काल से हम अपने पर्वतों, वनों, जल के महत्व को समझते आये हैं। तब आज क्या हो गया हमको। क्यों हम वनों के, प्राकृतिक निधि के विनाश का कारण बन गये हैं ? क्यों हम अपने ही हाथों से अपना गला घोट रहे हैं।

"यस्याम् वृक्षा वानस्पत्या ध्रुवास्तिष्ठन्ति विश्वहा।
पृथिवीं विश्वधायस घृतामच्छा वदामसि" ॥ अथर्ववेद १२-१-२७

जिस भूमि में वृक्ष एवं वनस्पतियाँ सदा खड़ी रहती हैं वह भूमि विश्व के समस्त जनों का भरण पोषण करने में समर्थ होती है।

ऐसा लगता है कि वनों को रक्षा वास्तव में मनुष्य नहीं करता वह तो उसका विनाश एवं उपभोग ही करता है। इसका श्रेय तो वन्य जीवों को ही जाता है। "येत आरण्याःपशवो मृगा वने हिता. सिंहा व्याघ्रा पुरुषादश्चरन्ति। उलंवृकपृथिवि दुच्छुनामित ऋक्षीकां रक्षो अपबाधयासमत।" अथर्व० १२-२-४९। मनुष्यों को खा जाने वाले इन वन्य पशुओं के कारण मनुष्य इन वनों से दूर ही रहते हैं परिणामस्वरूप वन अपने स्वाभाविक रूप मे विकसित होते हैं।

ऐसी विकास योजनाओं का कोई लाभ नही जो कल तो डबल रोटी मक्खन देने का वायदा करती हो किन्तु परसों जिनके कारण सूखी रोटी के भी लाले पड जाने का भय हो या रोटी खाने वालों का अस्तित्व ही खतरे की लपेट में आ जाय। क्या बड़े बांध, जिसमे टिहरी बांध भी आता है, ऐसी ही योजनाओं में आते हैं ? और ऐसे बांध यदि भूकम्प की सम्भावना वाले क्षेत्र में बनाये जा रहे हों तब क्या कहा जायेगा। हमारे देश को ऊर्जा की आवश्यकता है। सिंचाई के लिये जल की आवश्यकता है किन्तु किस मूल्य पर ? अपनी मूल्यवान विरासत, प्राकृतिक निधि को खोकर, दूर २ तक फैले हुए जंगलों को काट कर, भूमि अपरदन बढा कर, बाढ़ ग्रस्त क्षेत्र को बढा कर, गंगा-जल को प्रदूषित करके ? एक बड़े पैमाने पर लोगों को विस्थापित करके, उन्हें कष्ट देकर। फिर हम ऐसी योजनाओं को क्यों हाथ में लें जिनसे विनाश की सम्भावना भी प्रत्यक्ष हो। भारत में तो वन-क्षेत्र वैसे ही कम है। बाढ़-ग्रस्त क्षेत्र मे वृद्धि हो रही है। फिर यह कहां की बुद्धिमत्ता है कि हम जान बूझकर अपने पर्यावरण को नष्ट कर अपनी मूल्यवान विरासत से हाथ धो बैठें। जाहिर है कि ऊर्जा के उत्पादन के लिये, सिंचाई के लिये हम ऐसी योजनाओं की ओर ध्यान दें जो पर्यावरण की दृष्टि से स्वस्थ हों। हमें सौर ऊर्जा और छोटे-२ बांधों की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये। हमे अपने रहन-सहन के ढग बदलने चाहिये। सिंचाई मे जल की इकानामी, प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में ऊर्जा की इकानामी आवश्यक है।

हिमालय वाटर शेड :

वन क्षेत्र में कमी—बाढ़, सिल्टेशन, अपरदन में वृद्धि, भूकम्प सक्रिय :

प्रसिद्ध भू-वैज्ञानिक डा० जे० एस० कंवर (१९८१) के अनुसार बड़े बांध बनाने की बुद्धिमत्ता के बारे में गम्भीर संदेह है। इनके बनाने में न केवल बहुत अधिक व्यय होता है बल्कि हजारों हेक्टर भूमि से जंगल काटने पड़ते हैं। हमारे देश में १९५३-६० से बाढ-ग्रस्त क्षेत्र के बढते जाने का एक महत्वपूर्ण कारण बड़े पैमाने पर जंगल काटना और वनस्पतियों का विनाश करना है।

पिछले ३० वर्षों में हिमालय वाटर शेड का वन क्षेत्र ४०% कम हुआ है जिससे सिल्टेशन और बाढ मे वृद्धि हुई है तथा ईंधन लकड़ी मे कमी आई है (यू०एन०ई० पी०, हाशमी, हिन्नावी १९८७)।

अतः बड़ी योजनाओं की बात तो दूर है हमें हिमालय को छूते समय भी बहुत सावधानी बरतनी चाहिये। हिमालय केवल हमारी जलवायु को ही नियन्त्रित नही करता, उससे हमे अनेक प्रकार की प्राकृतिक सम्पदा प्राप्त होती है जिसमे से एक जीवनदायक जल है। हिमालय की नदियो में प्रति वर्ष ११ लाख मिलियन क्यूबिक मीटर जल बहता है। डा० बाल्दिया (१९८७) के अनुसार हिमालय मे विद्यमान सैकडों Faults भूकम्प-सक्रिय हैं और बांधो में भूकम्प पैदा करने की पर्याप्त क्षमता होती है।

बडे बाधो मे अत्यधिक विवादास्पद टिहरी बांध के बारे मे सुन्दर लाल बहुगुणा (१९८७) का विचार है कि, "टिहरी बाध का बनना बीसवीं सदी की सबसे बड़ी मूर्खता होगी।"

जिस स्थान पर बांध बन रहा है वहां भूकम्प का खतरा है जिससे यदि बांध टूटता है तब दूर २ तक विनाश ही नजर आयेगा। एक अनुमान के अनुसार इस क्षेत्र मे भूकम्प आने से, बांध के टूटने से २०० फीट ऊंची बाढ़ आ जायेगी। इससे विनाश का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। हम हरिद्वार ऋषिकेश में रहने वालों का क्या हाल होगा। क्या पवित्र हरि की पैड़ी जो लाखों करोड़ों लोगो की आस्था की केन्द्र बिन्दु है, बच सकेगी? ऐसा लगता

है कि हम बात विरासत की, पर्यावरण सुरक्षा की करते हैं और काम इनके विपरीत। एक अनुमान के अनुसार बाँध बनने से प्राय. ४६०० हे० भूमि (१००० हे० जगल, १६०० हे० कृषियोग्य भूमि एव २००० हे० चारागाह आदि) से हाथ धोना पड़ेगा। इस क्षेत्र में होने वाले बहुमूल्य औषधीय पोधे भी नष्ट हो जायेंगे। इस प्रकार राष्ट्र से उसका अत्यन्त मूल्यवान धन बाध के कारण उससे छीन लिया जायेगा। यहा यह उल्लेखनीय है कि चरक के अनुसार हिमालय मे पंदा होने वाली जडी बूटियां रोगो के उपचार, लम्बी आयु और उत्तम स्वास्थ्य के लिए अत्यन्त उपयोगी हैं। हिमालय क्षेत्र मे बाध बनने से वन सम्पदा को जो धक्का लगेगा वह अत्यन्त गहरा होगा। जबकि उकने विकसित देशो मे वन क्षेत्र स्थिर हो रहे हैं और कही-२ उनमे वृद्धि भी हुई है विकासशील देशों मे वन क्षेत्र इस सदी मे प्राय आधे रह गये हैं। डा० खुघू के अनुसार भारत मे पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में ६०% वन होने चाहिए और मैदानो में ३०% जबकि वास्तविक वन क्षेत्र वर्तमान में १४% है। किसी भी बडे बाँध बनने से यह स्थिति और भयावह होती जाती हैं। इस बात की ओर भी ध्यान देना आवश्यक है कि जगलों की कटाई से अ रदन सिल्टेशन एव बाढ मे वृद्धि होती हैं। ऐसा अनुमान है (कंवर १६८१) कि भारत मे १६५२ से बाद बाँध बनने मे प्राय ४ लाख हे० भूमि से जगलो का सफाया करना पडा और इसी अवधि मे बाढग्रस्त क्षेत्र में वृद्धि हुई। १६५० मे बाढग्रस्त क्षेत्र २५ मिलियन हे० था जो बढ कर ४० मिलियन हे० हो गया (National Commission of Floods)। प्रसिद्ध भूमि-वैज्ञानिक डा० कवर के अनुसार भूमि अधिक से अधिक पानी सोख सके इसके लिए राष्ट्रव्यापी प्रयत्न की आवश्यकता है। साथ ही बचे हुए पानी को छोटे-२ रिजरवाइर एव टैंकों में इकट्ठा किया जाना चाहिए। वन काटने की प्रक्रिया से जो कि बडे बाँध बनाने के लिए आवश्यक होती है, भूमि की जल सोखने की क्षमता घटती चली जाती है जिसके कारण नदियो मे बाढ आना स्वाभाविक है। वन काटने से भूमि अपरदन में भी वृद्धि होती है। ऐसी योजनाये जिनमे हम अपने वन भी खो दें, भूमि की ऊपरी उपजाऊ मिट्टी से भी हाथ धो बैठे और बाढ को भी न्योता दे किसी भी दृष्टि से बुद्धिमत्तापूर्ण नही कही जा सकती। जब कि प्रत्येक देश अपनी भूमि की एक-२ इ च जमीन के लिये लड़ मरता है हम स्वय ही, अपनी योजनाओं से अपनी मूल्यवान मिट्टी को खोते हुए, देखते रहते हैं और यह अहसास भी नहीं कर पाते कि कितनी बड़ी हानि हम अपने राष्ट्र की कर रहे हैं। जब कि भावना तो यह होनी चाहिये कि :

"खाके वतन का मुझको हर जर्रा देवता है
मेरे जहन का सब कुछ इस मुल्क पर फिदा है।"

अरस्तू ने कहा था कि "मिट्टी पौधों का पेट है।" क्या हम यह भी नही समझ पा रहे हैं कि इस पेट को लात मार कर हम अपने ही पेट पर लात नहीं मार रहे।

कहा अरस्तू ने था इक दिन
मिट्टी है पौधो का पेट
इसे हानि पहुचा कर मानव
नही भर सकेगा निज पेट

जिस धरती को वृक्ष-वनस्पति विहीन कर दिया जाता है क्या कभी उसकी पुकार भी सुनी है ?, वहाँ अपरदन बढता है भूमि की जल सोखने की क्षमता घटती फलतः बाढ़ आती है :

तुमने मुझे वृक्ष-वनस्पति विहीन कर दिया
भूमि की कटान कैसे रुके जल को क्यो पिया।
तुम जलाशयों मे डूब इस तरह गये मियां
शक्ल कल की तुमको भला कैसे दीखती कहा।

जैनेटिक रिसोर्सेज-हिमालय महत्त्वपूर्ण

पौधो की ऐसी अनेक जातियाँ जो केवल भारतवर्ष में ही होती हैं, उनमें अधिकतम हिमालय मे पाई जाती है। प्रत्यक्ष है कि हिमालय मे किसी भी विकासकार्य को हाथ मे लेते हुए जिसमे बड़े पैमाने पर पौधो को नष्ट करना पडता हो, अत्यन्त सावधानी बरतनी चाहिये। किसी भी देश के लिए उसके जैनेटिक रिसोर्सेज उसके अत्यन्त मूल्यवान निधि है। अत कोई भी ऐसा कार्य जिसमे पौधों जानवरों, सूक्ष्म जीवो का बहुत बडे पैमाने पर विनाश होता हो, विशेष रूप से हिमालय मे, उसके गम्भीर परिणाम होगे। हिमालय मे अतः बडे बिजलीघरो जलाशयों एव बाँधो को बनाना बुद्धिमानी नही प्रतीत होती क्योंकि इनसे भूमि के बहुत बड़े क्षेत्र से पौधो का सफाया करना पडता है, भूमि को हानि अलग होती है। वनस्पतिया, जन्तु, भूमि, वन, जल हमारी मूल्यवान विरासत हैं। अपनी विरासत को हम स्वय ही नष्ट न करें। अन्यथा आने वाली पीढ़ियों को हम क्या उत्तर देंगे।

आने वाली पीढियां पूछेंगी वृक्ष वह कहा
जिनसे बुजुर्गों को मिले फूल फल दवाइयां।

वह हसीन वादियां नज़ारे गुम हुए कहां
जिसका बुजुर्गों ने ज़िक्र पुस्तकों में है किया।
अपनी विरासत को कोई फूंकता नही मियां
वायु जल वनस्पति में है हजारों खूबियां
आदमी इन्हीं के सहारे ज़मीं पे है जिन्दा
जंगलों ने आज तक हमें दिया ही है दिया

भूकम्प सक्रिय इलाका

जिस इलाके में टिहरी बांध बन रहा है वह भूकम्प सक्रिय है। वैज्ञानिकों के अनुसार इस इलाके में भूकम्प सक्रियता बढ़ रही है। १९७१ से पूर्व प्रति वर्ष एक या दो भूकम्प आये, १९७४ में पाँच और १९७५ में सात। यहा यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि बड़े बाध और जलाशयों से ऐसे क्षेत्रो मे भी भूकम्प आ सकता है जहाँ पहले कभी भूकम्प न आया हो। टिहरी का २६० मीटर ऊचा बांध विश्व के सबसे बड़े बांधों में से होगा, जलाशय मे इकटठा ३.२ बिलियन टन पानी कितना जबरदस्त दबाव डालेगा इसका अन्दाजा लगाया जा सकता है। इससे बेसिन में फाल्ट्स और फ्रैक्चर्स सक्रिय हो सकते है जिससे भूकम्प आ सकता है। हमारे ही देश मे कोइना इस प्रकार के जलाशय प्रेरित भूकम्प का एक उदाहरण है।

यह कहा जा रहा है कि ऐसी दुर्घटना न होने पाये उसके लिए उचित सावधानियां बरती जा रही हैं। फिर भी भूकम्प की सम्भावना को नजर-अन्दाज़ नही किया जा सकता। वी० डी० सकलानी के अनुसार यदि टिहरी बांध भूकम्प या किसी अन्य कारण से टूटता है तब एक अत्यन्त विनाशकारी घटना होगी। मुनि की रेती से लेकर कलकत्ता तक पूरा गंगा बेसिन का सफाया हो जायेगा।

यह कहा जाता है कि टिहरी बांध के निर्माण में पहले ही करोडों रुपये व्यय हो चुके है अतः अब इस कार्य को बन्द करना न्यायसंगत नही होगा। किन्तु जिस कार्य से करोड़ों लोगो की जान को खतरा पैदा हो जाय ऐसे कार्य को किसी भी दशा में रोक देना ही एकमात्र विकल्प होगा। जहाँ तक बिजली उत्पादन और सिंचाई सुविधाएँ उपलब्ध कराने का प्रश्न है उसके लिए विकल्प विद्यमान हैं। और वह ये है कि एक बड़े के स्थान पर अनेक छोटे-२ पन बिजली घर बनाये जायें। सौर्य-ऊर्जा को बड़े पैमाने पर उपयोग करने के लिये कदम उठाये जायें। कपूर और बसल (रुड़की विश्वविद्यालय) के अनुसार चीन मे हर साल ६००० छोटे बिजली घर बनाये जाते है, तब हम ऐसा क्यों नही कर सकते। रूस में भी छोटे बिजलीघरो को लगाना प्रारम्भ किया जा रहा है।

आज चीन में ८७०० छोटे पन बिजलीघर हैं। बड़े जलाशयों में पानी जमा करने से जल प्रदूषित हो जाता है। गंगा जल ससारमे अद्‌भुत जल है। इसमें रोग निवारण की अद्‌भुत क्षमता बताई जाती है। और इसकी क्षमता के क्या कारण हैं इसके बारे में अभी तक कोई निश्चित जानकारी नही है। अतः यह विचार करना भी आवश्यक हो जाता है कि यदि बांध बनाने से गंगा जल की पवित्रता और अद्‌भुत क्षमता समाप्त हो जाती है तब बाँध बनाने के समर्थकों के पास इसके लिए क्या विकल्प होगा।

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शुद्धि–पत्र

पृष्ठ	पंक्ति	अशुद्ध	शुद्ध
६	१०	नवनवेषोन्मुखी	नवनवोन्मेषोन्मुखो
६	२८	स उनः	स उ नः
७	२६	निष्टप्ता	निष्टप्तं
७	३३	पर्जन्य	पर्जन्यः
७	३३	प्रर्जन्यादन्नसभव	प्रर्जन्यादन्नसंभवः
८	१	हव्यम्रकृतम्	हव्यमकृतम्
८	२	स्वध्यान्नेन	स्वधयान्नेन
८	१६	विश्वधापसं	विश्वधायसं
८	२६	शध्यता	राध्यता
८	२८	वनस्पतिः	वनस्पती
१०	१०	विभिषिका	विभीषिका
१०	१४	तविर्षेभिर्ऊमि मि	तविर्षेभिर्ऊर्मिभिः
१०	१६	विनशन्	विनशन
११	१२	माते	मा ते
११	१२	हृदयमर्पिवम्	हृदयमर्पिपम्
११	१७	प्रकृति	प्रकृतिः
११	१८	लोका.	लोकान्
११	३१	यायामि	याचामि
१२	६	वास्तून्युरमसिगमध्यै	वास्तून्युरमसिगमध्यै
१२	८	हृरिमा–वते	हृरिमा च ते
१२	१७	य	यं
१२	३३	पृथिक्रुदश्यः	पृथिक्रुद्स्यः
१६	६	पल	पल =
१६	१८	लखाराव	लखारांव
३२	१	रमिष्टय	रमिष्टय
३२	१	पीत ये	पीतये
३२	१	रमि स्रुवन्तु	रमिस्रवन्तु
३२	५	आपोघ्न्व्या:	आयोऽघ्वन्या:
३२	१६	गंगोतरी	गंगोत्री
४६	१	मैं	में
४६	२	पर्यावण	पर्यावरण

क्या आप जानते हैं ?

I—भारत का कुल थल क्षेत्र ३२८ मिलियन हेक्टेयर है। इसका प्रायः आधा क्षेत्र अर्थात् १५० मिलियन हेक्टेयर, जल एवं वायु अपरदन, लवणता, क्षारता, जलप्लवन आदि के कारण अपकर्ष की विभिन्न स्थितियों में है।

अतः कोई आश्चर्य नहीं कि देश की आधी जनसंख्या गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे है।

II—१३० मिलियन टन खाद्यान्न पैदा करने में भूमि से लगभग १८ मिलियन टन खनिज लवण (पोषक तत्व) लिये जाते है।

उर्वरक और जैव स्रोतों द्वारा भूमि को १०.३ मिलियन टन खनिज लवण (पोषक तत्व) दिये जाते हैं।

इस प्रकार भूमि बैंक को ९.७ मिलियन टन खनिज लवण का घाटा रहता है। क्या इस प्रकार ओवर ड्राफ्ट से कोई भी बैंक दिवालिया नहीं हो जाएगा ? साथ ही हमे यह भी नही भूलना चाहिए कि अपरदन द्वारा भूमि प्रतिवर्ष ८४ मिलियन टन पोषक तत्व खो रही है।

III—भारत की ४० मिलियन हेक्टेयर भूमि बाढ़ से पीड़ित है। गंगा क्षेत्र मे प्रतिवर्ष ८ मिलियन हेक्टेयर भूमि मे बाढ आती है जिससे २५० करोड़ रुपये की वार्षिक हानि होती है।

क १९५२ से पूर्व बाढग्रस्त क्षेत्र २५ मिलियन हेक्टेअर था जो आज बढ़कर ४० मिलियन हेक्टेअर हो गया।

ख. १९५२ से देश मे जिन बाँधो का निर्माण हुआ है उनके लिए ४ लाख हेक्टेअर भूमि से वनों को समाप्त करना पड़ा।

क्या 'क' और 'ख' मे कोई सम्बन्ध है ?

of Kiev on the Dnieper, and their ships even appeared before the walls of Constantinople.

It was as raiders that the Danes first came to England, where the monasteries were their favourite objects of attack. Thieving and killing went together. The abbeys of eastern England went up in flames—as did St. Columba's on Iona and St. Patrick's near Dublin. Those few who survived the raids were left to mourn both their murdered comrades and the loss of the gold and silver that had adorned their church.

Danish Conquest begins 851

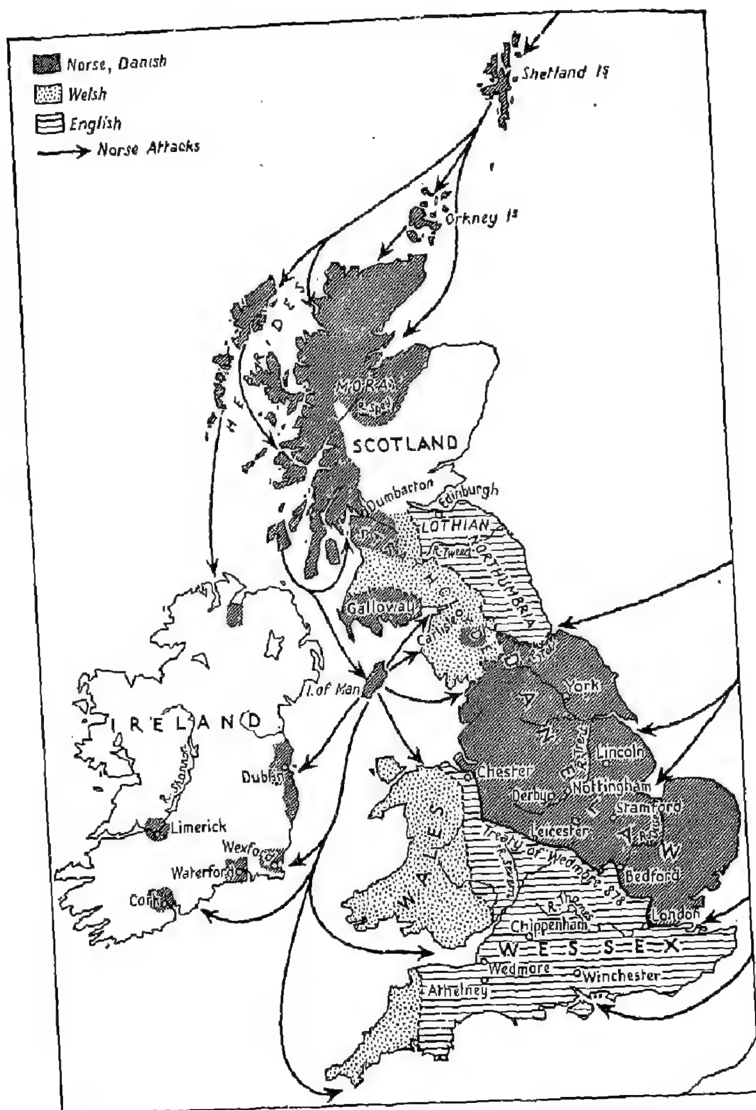
After fifty years of this terror, a worse appeared. In 851 the Danish army wintered in England for the first time and began the work of conquest in earnest. Wessex was attacked from the south, where pirate bands joined the Cornish in attacks on the coast; but it was the eastern kingdoms that suffered most severely. In spite of some help from Wessex, both Mercia and Northumbria submitted to the conqueror. In 870 —it was the year before Alfred became King of Wessex—the Danes conquered East Anglia and put to death Edmund, its king. The martyrdom of the royal saint was afterwards commemorated by the foundation of the abbey of St. Edmundsbury. Wessex was now the only part of England which still resisted the Danes.

St. Edmund, 870

3. *Alfred the Great*

Alfred, 871–899

Alfred (871–899), the grandson of Egbert, came of a short-lived house. His eldest brother had reigned for only two years. His next two brothers both died young, reigning for five years each. In 871 the Danes took Reading and encamped on the Downs above Wantage, Alfred's birthplace. His brother, King Ethelred, routed them at Ashdown, near by, but did not long survive the battle. The fortunes of Wessex and of England now depended upon King Alfred, a young man of twenty-one. The Danes were masters of Mercia and Northumbria, and they soon penetrated far into Wessex. In 876 they were at Wareham, in Dorset, where they joined hands with the Cornish. In January 878 they made a surprise attack on Chippenham, where the West Saxon army lay, and Alfred escaped with difficulty. With a few followers he fled to Somerset, where the marshes of the Parret formed a refuge.



THE BRITISH ISLES AND THE NORSE INVASIONS

Here, at Athelney,[1] a village raised on the mud above the surrounding waters, he defied his enemies, and lay secure through the remaining months of the winter. This was the turning-point of the struggle.

Alfred at Athelney

One of Alfred's great qualities was that he never despaired, even in the darkest hour; and gradually he inspired his men with his own spirit. In May he issued from his retreat, collected the men of the neighbouring shires in Wiltshire, and successfully attacked the Danes at Ethandune, near Chippenham. At last the Danish king, Guthrum, agreed to make peace. By the Treaty of Wedmore (878), he and Alfred divided England between them at the line of the Watling Street, and Guthrum's part—north and east of Watling Street—became known as the Danelaw. Guthrum promised to settle down peaceably in his part of the country and was baptized a Christian. Seven years later, Alfred had consolidated his position and was strong enough to make another treaty with the Danes by which the boundary of his kingdom was extended eastward and included London, which he fortified. Wessex, since it now included half Mercia, was larger than it had ever been before. The Danish conquest of Mercia and Northumbria had paved the way to the union of England under the kings of Wessex, when they should be strong enough to reconquer the Danes—as they did under Alfred's son, Edward the Elder.[2]

Ethandune 878

Treaty of Wedmore

The Danelaw

Alfred's next care was to prepare for the defence of his kingdom. He built ships of sixty oars and more to resist the pirates from overseas; he divided the Saxon fyrd[3] into three parts, each of which was bound to serve a month at a time, so that at other times they could tend their farms; he also reorganized the fyrd under the leadership of the local thegns. Towards the end of Alfred's reign there was a fresh invasion from overseas; and the fact that the Danes were beaten back

Alfred's fleet

[1] It was at Athelney that the Alfred Jewel was discovered in the eighteenth century. It is made of gold, of excellent workmanship, and represents the head of a man. It bears the legend: 'Aelfred mec heht gewyrcan' ('Alfred had me wrought'). It is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[2] See next section (4).

[3] National army.

after a four years' struggle is proof of the wisdom and thoroughness of Alfred's defensive measures. The Danish fleet was blockaded and captured in the River Lea (896), while the Wessex fleet won a victory over some more pirates in the Channel.

An old chronicler[1] speaks of Alfred as 'the famous, the warlike, the victorious, the careful provider for the widow, the orphan and the poor'; and it was as a 'careful provider' for the needs of peace as well as of war that his people gratefully remembered him. He 'gathered the laws together and caused them to be written down', including those of Ethelbert of Kent and Offa of Mercia as well as of former West Saxon kings. He omitted some which he 'liked not', and softened the harshness of others.

His work in peace

Alfred laboured continuously for the restoration of learning in England, which had suffered terribly from nearly a century of war and invasion. He founded schools, he restored monasteries; and, since there were not enough scholars in England to serve the needs of education, he sent for more from France and Germany. For the benefit of his subjects, he translated several important books from Latin into English himself.[2] Alfred the Great, the Truth-Teller, like all his house, died comparatively young; he was only fifty when he ended his labours, in the year 899. He was buried at Winchester, the West Saxon capital.

Education

Death of Alfred, 899

4. *The Saxon Monarchy*

The century from Alfred's Peace of Wedmore (878) to the accession of Ethelred the Redeless (978) has been called the Golden Age of the Saxons. The work of uniting England under the West Saxon monarchy, which involved the reconquest of the Danelaw, was completed by about 955. Alfred's forefathers had been kings of Wessex merely; his grandsons and their successors were kings of England.[3]

[1] Florence of Worcester.

[2] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the basis of our knowledge of early English history, was begun about this time, possibly by Alfred's orders.

[3] See table on opposite page.

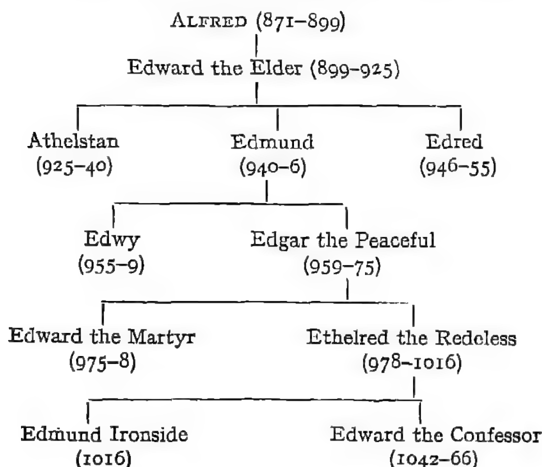
Alfred's son and successor was that warlike king, Edward the Elder (899–925), who was ably supported by his no less warlike sister, Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians. After her husband's death Ethelfleda carried on the war against the Danes with undiminished vigour, and she reduced the 'Five Boroughs' (Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester) which had been settled by the Danes after their first conquest. She lived in royal state at Tamworth Castle and she died there. Her brother continued her work of building and fortifying 'burhs' against the Danes. In these 'burhs' we see the origin of the towns which gave their names to and became the capitals of the new midland shires that Edward the Elder formed. The shires of Wessex, which are much earlier, were tribal lands (e.g. Berkshire, Wiltshire) and were not named after a burh, whereas the midland shires take their names from the county towns—Bedford, Hertford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Stafford, Warwick. When Edward the Elder died, the Danelaw up to the Humber had been reconquered, and the Danes were settling down under their West Saxon master.

Edward the Elder 899–925

The midland shires

Three of Edward's sons reigned after him; the eldest, Athelstan (925–40), was the first man who could fairly claim to be

Athelstan 925–40



King of England, for he conquered Danish Northumbria and thus united the country under one rule. He did, indeed, assume the high-sounding title of King of Britain; and the *Chronicle* says that he 'governed all the kings that were in this island'—the King of West Wales (Cornwall), the King of the Scots, the King of Monmouth, and the King of Northumbria. Constantine, King of Scots, 'the crafty one', afterwards raised an allied army of Scots, Danes, Welsh, and Britons (of Strathclyde) to fight Athelstan, but the English utterly defeated it at Brunanburh (937).[1]

Athelstan was followed by Edmund (940–6), who was murdered by a robber in his own banqueting hall. Edred, his younger brother, reigned next, in preference to the young sons of Edmund. The passing over of the heir, on the grounds that he was too young to rule, was usual in those turbulent times, the decision being taken by the Witan.[2] On Edred's death, his two nephews, Edwy and Edgar, divided the kingdom between them; but Edwy lived only another four years, after which the land was united under the sixteen years' rule of Edgar.

Edred and his nephews

Edgar the Peaceful 959–75

The reign of Edgar the Peaceful (959–75) is mainly remembered for his choice of St. Dunstan as his chief adviser. Dunstan had had a chequered life. He was born near Glastonbury, and was the son of a wealthy thegn. It was in his father's hall that Dunstan first acquired his passion for music, and he used to carry his harp about with him wherever he went. Then he was sent as a page to the court of Athelstan; but he disliked court life, decided to become a monk, and entered Glastonbury Abbey. Dunstan was an eager reader, and at Glastonbury he came in contact with the Irish monks, who used to travel about England bringing their precious manuscripts with them. There also he was able to indulge his artistic tastes to the full, and he soon became famed for his skill as a goldsmith. There are many stories connected with St. Dunstan, particularly in regard to his alleged encounters with the Devil in person. At Mayfield Palace, Sussex, an old residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury, they still show you the celebrated tongs with which he is said to have pinched the Devil's nose.

St. Dunstan

Dunstan was recalled to court by King Edmund, who made

[1] Perhaps Burnswark on the Solway.

[2] See above, p. 35.

him Abbot of Glastonbury when he was scarcely twenty. Edgar, Edmund's son, was his lifelong friend. Dunstan was made in turn Bishop of Worcester and Bishop of London, and lastly Archbishop of Canterbury (960), a position which he held for nearly thirty years, during which he played a leading part in both Church and State—the first of the great clerical statesmen of medieval England.

Dunstan Archbishop 960

Dunstan's rule at Glastonbury was the beginning of a much-needed monastic reform in England. He had spent his exile abroad at one of the sister abbeys of the famous Cluny in Burgundy. Cluny[1] had become the centre of a monastic reform which spread throughout Europe. Dunstan, on his return, encouraged this reformation in England. Under its influence most of the abbey churches in England came under the rule of the monks, while all the monasteries were reformed in discipline. The Rule of St. Benedict was strictly enforced, the monks being obliged to perform their seven services a day, besides giving four hours to study and six hours to manual work. These reforms had a healthy influence for a time, though unfortunately another age of war and violence, which followed Dunstan's death, undid much of his good work.

Monastic Reform

Dunstan undoubtedly had much to do with the prosperity of Edgar's reign—a reign so peaceful that the Saxon chronicler has little to say about it. He mentions the 'six kings' who met Edgar at Chester and swore to be his allies 'by sea and by land'. According to a later chronicler these were the kings (eight in this story)[2] who rowed Edgar across the Dee, while he sat in state in the prow of the barge.

King Edgar died in 975; Dunstan survived him thirteen years. He lived long enough to prophesy the calamities which would befall the realm under Edgar's sons. Edgar was succeeded by his young son Edward (the Martyr) who reigned for three years; then he was murdered at Coryates (Dorset) by Elfrida, his step-mother. Elfrida's ambition, that her own son should be king, was thus accomplished; the boy Ethelred, aged ten, was then crowned at Kingston-on-Thames.

Edward the Martyr 975–8

[1] See Chapter V, Sect. 1.

[2] The King of Scots, the King of Cumberland, the Viking King of Man, and five Welsh kings.

Ethelred the Redeless, 978–1016

Thirty-six out of the thirty-eight years (978–1016) of the reign of Ethelred the 'Redeless' ('Lacking in Counsel') were overcast by fresh Danish raids and invasions. The raids began (980) when some pirate crews landed in Dorset. Thereafter the *Chronicle* becomes a melancholy record of disaster. The pirate ships harried all the coasts, sailed up the rivers, and reduced the countryside to terror. Places as far apart as Bamburgh, Ipswich, Canterbury, Exeter, and Bath are mentioned as being plundered; the enemy penetrated as far inland as Oxford. London was the only place that made an effective defence. The king decided to pay tribute to the Danes, to try to induce them to leave England in peace. This tribute was raised by a direct tax on the people, called Danegeld,[1] and it was levied six times during the reign—an eloquent testimony to the fact that it only encouraged the enemy to come again. The total amount paid in Danegeld in Ethelred's reign was 158,000 pounds of silver (about £8,500,000 in modern money), raised from a country of under three million inhabitants.

The Danes come again

Danegeld

Some towns, particularly London, put up a good fight against the Danish inroads; but a fearful paralysis gripped the whole country. What was lacking was a leader. In the *Chronicle* we read a story of wasted effort, of armies assembled but never put into action. 'Often was an army collected against them; but as soon as they were about to come together then were they ever through something or other put to flight and their enemies always in the end had the victory.'[2] An example of the king's lack of settled policy is shown by the *Chronicle*'s entries for the year 1002, which begin: 'This year the king and his council agreed that tribute should be given to the [Danish] fleet and peace made with them, with the provision that they should desist from their mischief.' But the very same year, on St. Brice's Day (1002), Ethelred ordered the massacre of the Danes settled in Wessex, and one of the

Confusion in England

Massacre of St. Brice's Day, 1002

[1] This experiment of direct taxation proved so useful to the Crown that Danegeld was later levied by Canute, the Danish king of England, who obviously did not want it for its original purpose. It was also levied by William the Conqueror and his successors, when all danger from the Danes had disappeared.

[2] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Year 998.

victims was the sister of Sweyn Forkbeard, King of Denmark. This violence and treachery only worsened the position. Sweyn Forkbeard himself now became the chief directer of the Danish raids. He was a son of the Christian Harold Blue-Tooth, but he had slain his father in battle, and turned pagan. In 1013 he brought his son Canute to England, and in the same year King Ethelred fled to Normandy, taking with him his Norman wife Emma and her young sons. Thereupon most of England submitted to Sweyn; but one day early in the next year he fell shrieking from his horse and expired in torment—men said he was struck down by the hand of God. **Sweyn Forkbeard**

Canute was now King of Denmark, and intended to be King of England as well. Ethelred returned from Normandy (1014), only to die two years later. The war continued: Edmund Ironside, Ethelred's eldest son, raised an army in East Anglia—the first, but not the last, Ironside to do so. But Canute defeated him at Assandune in Essex (1016), owing, it is said, to the treachery of an English earl, Edric Streona, who had betrayed his countrymen before. Canute and Edmund now agreed to divide the kingdom between them—as Guthrum and Alfred had previously done. But that winter Edmund Ironside died—he may have been murdered—and the hopes of England died with him. Submission to Canute was the only course left, and the Witan chose him as King of England. **Canute** **Death of Edmund Ironside 1016**

5. *The Second Danish Conquest*

Canute's reign of nearly twenty years (1016–35) began with numerous murders, and one of Ethelred's surviving sons was among the victims. But he grew pious as he became older, adopted the Christian religion, founded monasteries instead of burning them, and went on a pilgrimage to Rome. **Reign of Canute 1016–35**

There is one passage in the *Chronicle* which illustrates the great change in the king's behaviour. Canute, 'the illustrious king', accompanied by the chief bishops and earls, was present when the corpse of Archbishop Alphege was moved from St. Paul's to Canterbury. Now St. Alphege had been taken prisoner by some Danes eleven years before, mocked at during their drunken feast, pelted with ox bones, and then brutally murdered. But those days are past; and a different scene is **Canute turns Christian**

being enacted. It is summer, and the doors of the church at Canterbury are open to receive the martyr's bones; the queen and her son are come to meet the procession, 'and they all with much majesty and bliss and songs of praise carried the holy archbishop into Canterbury, and so brought him gloriously into the church, on the third day before the Ides of June'. Both sides of the medieval picture are presented in the story of St. Alphege, both the cruelty and the piety; and the violent contrast, so typical of the Middle Ages. First, the victim, the bloody ox bones, the jeering crowd, merciful death: then the martyr, the Cross, the chanting monks, the holy tomb. One cannot help wondering whether there were some Danes who played a part in both scenes. But it was not only the Danes who were alternately savages and pilgrims.

St. Alphege

Canute strengthened his position in England by marrying Emma of Normandy, the widow of Ethelred. He divided England among four great earls to rule the country when he was absent; and the most trusted of these was Godwine, Earl of Wessex. Abroad, Canute was a powerful monarch; his accession to the thrones of England and Denmark (1016) was followed twelve years later by his conquest of Norway. One may well speculate what would have been the course of history had his successors been strong enough to maintain this great northern maritime empire.

Canute's Maritime Empire

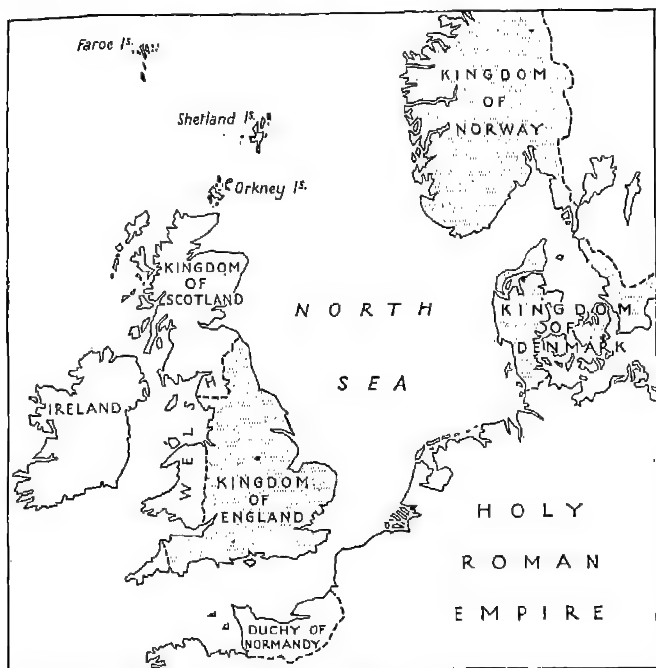
Canute was evidently liked by his English subjects, and his peaceful rule was soon so firmly established that he was able to send the greater part of the Danish fleet and army home. It was paid off by means of the Danegeld. Canute, however, maintained a small standing army of royal body-guards, known as 'housecarls', warriors bound by a tie of personal service to the king. These served to keep the local chieftains in order and to make them obey the English laws which Canute re-enacted.

The House-carls

When Canute died (1035) he was succeeded as King of Denmark by his eldest son, Sweyn, while England was divided between two other sons, Harold Harefoot and Hardicanute. But when Sweyn died shortly afterwards, Hardicanute became King of Denmark, and seemed not to trouble about England. So 'men chose Harold king over all, and forsook Hardicanute, because he was too long in Denmark'. Then Hardicanute invaded

Harold I and Hardicanute

England, only to find Harold Harefoot dead on his arrival (1040). He thereupon assumed authority over the whole kingdom. Another two years passed, and then . . . 'this year died King



CANUTE'S EMPIRE

Hardicanute at Lambeth, as he stood drinking'. So ended the short and inglorious reigns of Canute's sons (1042).

The last of the Danish kings, 1042

The Golden Age of the Saxons had ended with Edgar and Dunstan. The calamities of the long reign of Ethelred the Redeless had ushered in the second Danish conquest. And the Danish element has remained in our history, our dialects, and our blood. The names of many places in the eastern counties attest their Danish origin.[1] The Danes also introduced

Danish influences

[1] In Lincolnshire, names ending in *-by*, meaning homestead or township (as in 'by-law' or town law), are thick on the map, e.g. Grimsby,

a new division of land for purposes of administration. Wapentakes corresponded to hundreds and they often bear Danish names, e.g. in Yorkshire Hallikeld, Holderness, and Agbrigg. Another Danish innovation was the division of Yorkshire into *ridings* (third parts), which still survive.

A Norse Colony

About the same time as the Danes of eastern England were submitting to Edward the Elder and his sons, another Norse colony was being formed. This was the settlement in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire of Norwegians from the Isle of Man and Ireland. In the Lake District a mountain is called a fell, and a lake a tarn, both Norwegian names. The Norwegians also penetrated into the Danelaw; Normanby or Normanton (= village of the Norwegians) is a name found in Yorkshire and in five other counties.[1]

Importance of the Thegns

Under the stress of the Danish wars a great change had been hastened in the social life of England. The need for organization is always more felt in time of war than in peace. In war-time the paramount need is for protection; and, during the Danish wars, the thegns naturally rose in importance. The thegns were the king's warriors whose duty it was to defend the realm: they also became the lords of the peasants.[2] The free ceorl began to lose his independence: he became the tiller of the soil, and almost as low in the scale as the word 'churl' suggests. Even before the Norman Conquest it is probable that the ceorl had sunk to the status of a villein, and was compelled to work on his lord's land.

Another development followed the reconquest of the Danelaw by Edward the Elder and his son. The whole country was

Coningsby, Spilsby; and similar towns are also to be found as far inland as Ashby and Rugby. Another Danish name for a homestead was *toft* (e.g. Lowestoft); the name *thorp*, so common in Norfolk and Suffolk, meant a hamlet, an offshoot of an original settlement, as in Burnham Thorpe, while *wick* meant a creek or bay, as in Berwick. The Danish name *thwaite* (i.e. meadow) is also common in Yorkshire.

[1] Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Rutland.

[2] Thus gradually arose the system known as *Feudalism*, which was more fully developed after the Norman Conquest. It would perhaps be truer to say that we know more about it after the Conquest. The question of how far Feudalism was developed under the Saxons is one of much controversy among scholars.

divided into large districts formed of groups of shires, each placed under the command of an earl (the Danish name for the Saxon 'ealdorman'). The earl thus became an important magnate, while the shires were administered under him by the sheriff. This system was continued by Canute, and by the time of the last Saxon king, Edward the Confessor, the power of the earls had become dangerous.

Large earldoms

6. *Edward the Confessor*

On the death of Hardicanute the Witan chose his half-brother Edward,[1] the last of Ethelred's sons, to be king of England. Edward the Confessor, as he was afterwards called, reigned for twenty-four years (1042–66). When he came to the throne he was a man of about thirty-seven. He had spent all his life in Normandy, his mother's country, for which he had a great affection—a fact which had a fateful influence on English history. He was a man of great piety, and so he is the hero of the monastic chroniclers. He founded the first Westminster Abbey,[2] which was completed just before his death and 'hallowed' on Christmas Day, 1065.

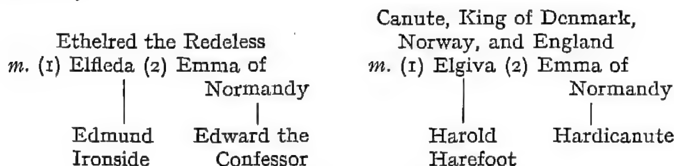
Edward the Confessor 1042–66

But the pious king was also somewhat simple-minded; he lacked the force of intellect and will wherewith to grasp the reins of government, which fell from his nerveless hands into those of stronger men. There were two parties in the state: the king's favourites who were all Normans, and the party of Earl Godwine, the 'national' party, which stood for England —and for Earl Godwine.

Godwine was an able man whom Canute had made Earl of Wessex. Under the Confessor, the possessions of his family

Earl Godwine

[1] Hardicanute and Edward the Confessor were both sons of Emma of Normandy:



[2] The Confessor's building was pulled down by Henry III, who built the present Abbey.

were largely increased. Godwine himself was Earl of Wessex, which now embraced all England south of the Thames; his eldest son Sweyn was given an earldom—the Severn valley; his second son Harold was made Earl of East Anglia. Finally, Beorn, his nephew, was made Earl of the midland shires of Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, and Lincoln. These arrangements considerably reduced the power of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and made the Godwine family supreme over a great part of England. The Confessor disliked and feared Godwine—nevertheless, or perhaps for that very reason, he married Godwine's daughter.

The Norman party

The Norman party was headed by Robert, Abbot of Jumièges—the first Norman bishop in England. He was made Bishop of London and then Archbishop of Canterbury. Another Norman, Richard Scrob, built the first castle in England, much superior to the Saxon burh. These men, and other bishops and nobles of Norman birth, were the favourites of Edward the Confessor. It is one of the ironies of history that the English, when they were ruled by Norman kings, looked back to the days of 'good King Edward' as to a time when they had their own laws and their own king. But, in truth, the holy king did as much to promote the Norman Conquest as any man.

In 1051 Count Eustace of Boulogne, who had married Edward's sister, paid a visit to England. He behaved badly on his departure, and there was fighting between his followers and the men of Dover. Hearing of this, King Edward ordered Earl Godwine to punish the offending townspeople; but Godwine stoutly refused to do so. All the earl's hostility to the Norman favourites was behind this refusal; he took an angry leave of the king, and prepared to raise a rebellion. But Leofric and Siward,[1] the earls of Mercia and Northumbria respectively, who were jealous of Godwine's power, rallied to the king's side. The position looked dangerous; but Godwine would not trust to the issue of civil war, and he and all his family fled to Flanders. It was during Godwine's exile, and

Godwine in exile

[1] Leofric was the husband of Lady Godiva, and the grandfather of Earls Edwin and Morcar, who failed to support Harold in 1066. Siward appears in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

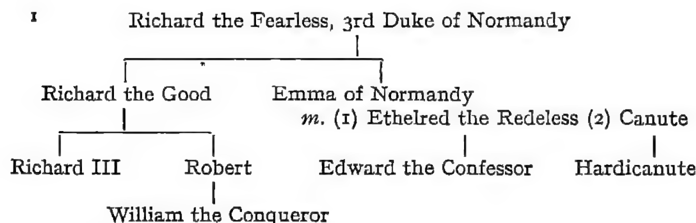
the consequent triumph of the Norman party, that William, the seventh Duke of Normandy, paid a visit to King Edward, his second cousin.[1]

The Duchy of Normandy, 910

Norman power had begun a century and a half earlier with the settlement (910) of some Norse pirates at the mouth of the Seine. Rollo, the first duke, and his followers, were just pagan Norse adventurers. But their successors, while retaining all the fighting qualities and much of the savagery of the Norsemen, also absorbed the Christianity of France and its civilization—the foremost of that age. The Norman knights were famous fighters; their leaders were men of enterprise. Duke William was not the only Norman conqueror of this period. His countryman, Robert Guiscard, was at this time carving out a dukedom for himself in south Italy—the foundation of the later Norman kingdom of Naples and Sicily. In Normandy, Lanfranc, Prior of Bec, was busy reforming the Church after the model of Cluny[2]; while the massive Norman architecture, later to become so familiar in England, was producing splendid abbeys, churches, and castles.

Duke William

Duke William was one of the outstanding figures of that age. His ancestor Duke Richard had helped Hugh Capet[3] to become King of France (987), and the Norman dukes had been close allies of Hugh Capet's successors. But by William's time the Duke of Normandy was too secure in his own dominions and too powerful a vassal to be a useful ally to the French Crown. Practically independent of the King of France, his own feudal overlord, William nevertheless sternly repressed all the efforts of his Norman barons to assert their own independence. While yet a boy he crushed the revolt of his barons at Val-ès-dunes

[1]


[2] See below, Chapter V.

[3] The Capetian Dynasty lasted in France till the French Revolution.

(1047); and they ever afterwards feared and respected him. By training William was a Christian and a Frenchman, but in some respects he was 'the most terrible, as he was the last, outcome of the northern race. The very spirit of the "sea-wolves" who had so long lived on the pillage of the world seemed embodied in his gigantic form, his enormous strength, his savage countenance, his desperate bravery, the fury of his wrath, the ruthlessness of his revenge.'[1]

William and Edward the Confessor

The duke was a welcome visitor at the so-called English court, where the king was surrounded by his Normans. It is fairly certain that the childless Edward then recognized William as the heir to his kingdom, although he had no right to do this, for William had no valid claim to the English throne. But after the duke's departure there was a reaction against the Normans. Godwine reappeared with a fleet in the Thames; at a meeting of the Witan he was restored to his earldom, and the Norman favourites were outlawed.

Earl Harold

Earl Godwine died shortly after his restoration to power, and his son Harold became Earl of Wessex. Harold Godwine-son was the real ruler of England during the remaining thirteen years of Edward's reign; and nearly all the chief earldoms were held by him and his brothers. Towards the end of the reign Harold had the misfortune to be shipwrecked off the Norman coast, and was taken to William's court. Here, in return for liberty, he was made to swear an oath to the duke, the nature of which is somewhat obscure; but either he swore to be William's vassal, or he promised to support the duke's claim to the English throne; in either case he broke his oath.

Tostig

Harold's brother Tostig had been made Earl of Northumbria on Siward's death. Against Tostig there was a rebellion (1065), and as a result the earldom was transferred to Morcar, brother of Edwin, Earl of Mercia. Tostig fled overseas, vowing vengeance on Harold, who, he said, had failed to support him. His revenge (as we shall see) cost him his life, and England her liberty.

7. *The Making of Scotland*

England and Scotland, 9th and 10th centuries

At the beginning of this chapter we saw how England, divided into three warring kingdoms, fell a prey to the invading

[1] J. R. Green.

Danes; and then how, under Alfred and his descendants, the Danish territory was reconquered and the kingdom of England



SCOTLAND IN THE DARK AGES

united under one ruler. The story of the sister kingdom of Scotland,[1] as this section will show, was strangely similar.

Scotland is naturally divided into three parts—the Highlands,

[1] Scotland did not receive its present name till the tenth century of the Christian era.

Highlands and Lowlands

the Central Lowlands, and the Southern Uplands. The Highlands rise north-west of a line drawn roughly from the mouth of the Clyde to Aberdeen and include the most magnificent mountain scenery in the British Isles. The Central Lowlands consist of a broad plain (including the whole of modern industrial Scotland) stretching from Aberdeen to Ayrshire. The third region, the Southern Uplands, is so mountainous as to make invasion from England very difficult, except by the coastal route from Berwick-on-Tweed. The Romans made an attempt —not a successful one—to incorporate the land south of the Firth of Forth into their province of Britain.

Four peoples in Scotland

What is now Scotland had become, by the middle of the sixth century, the home of four distinct peoples. First, the Picts held the greater part of the country north of the Forth. Secondly, the Scots, invaders from Ireland, settled in Argyllshire and the neighbouring islands, and formed the kingdom of Dalriata. Thirdly, the English, who settled the North Sea coast, colonized the district of Lothian, between the Forth and the Tweed, which is now part of Scotland but which was then part of the kingdom of Bernicia.[1] Lastly, the Britons, driven by the English from the east coast, held the kingdom of Strathclyde or Cumbria, which then extended from the Clyde to the Mersey. The capital of Strathclyde was first at Dumbarton (i.e. Fortress of the Britons) and then at Carlisle. These diverse elements—Pict, Scot, Briton, and English—were in time joined to form the kingdom of Scotland.

The first step in this process was the union of the Picts and Scots. This event was hastened by the raids of the Norsemen, which, as in England, began in the last years of the eighth century. The pirates singled out for plunder the monasteries, which were often built on or near the coast; Iona was sacked in 795. At last (839) the power of the Picts was shattered in a battle in which the Norsemen slew the Pictish king and a great

Union of Picts and Scots, 843

number of his warriors. But the overthrow of the Pictish kingdom enabled Kenneth MacAlpin, King of Dalriata, to unite his country with Pictland (843). The union thus formed was never afterwards broken.

[1] Bernicia was afterwards united with Deira (Yorkshire) to form the kingdom of Northumbria.

Norse Conquests

But Kenneth and his successors were powerless to stem the Norse advance. Before the end of the ninth century the invaders had conquered the Orkneys and Shetlands, the Hebrides, and the northern part of the mainland of Scotland, as far as the province of Moray, on the southern shore of the Moray Firth. At the same time other Norsemen overran the valley of the Clyde and took Dumbarton. The capital of the British kingdom was now moved south to Carlisle.

English victories in the north

At the beginning of the tenth century the tide began to turn. In Scotland the Norsemen made no further conquests; in England they were fighting a losing battle against Edward the Elder and his sons. As we have seen, Athelstan defeated the Danes of Northumbria[1] and his brother Edmund drove them out of Strathclyde. Unable, however, to hold this distant province, Edmund committed the task of its defence to the King of Scotland, Malcolm I, who thus became overlord of Strathclyde.[2]

Edinburgh 962

The southern movement of the Scots continued; in 962 Indulf, successor of Malcolm I, made himself master of Edinburgh. The opening years of the eleventh century, which saw the second Danish conquest of England, were much more fortunate for Scotland. The death of Sigurd, the Norse Jarl of Orkney (1014), who had also ruled over northern Scotland, resulted in his territories on the mainland coming under the sway of the King of Scots, Malcolm II (1005–34). It was this same Malcolm who acquired the province of Lothian, down to the river Tweed, from the Earl of Northumberland and who, when King Canute tried to retake the province, won the decisive battle of Carham (1018). Since Carham the boundary of England and Scotland has been fixed at the Tweed. In the same year as this victory Owen the Bald, last British king of Strathclyde, died; he was succeeded by Duncan, grandson and heir of King Malcolm.[3] When Duncan succeeded Malcolm

Malcolm II (1005–34)

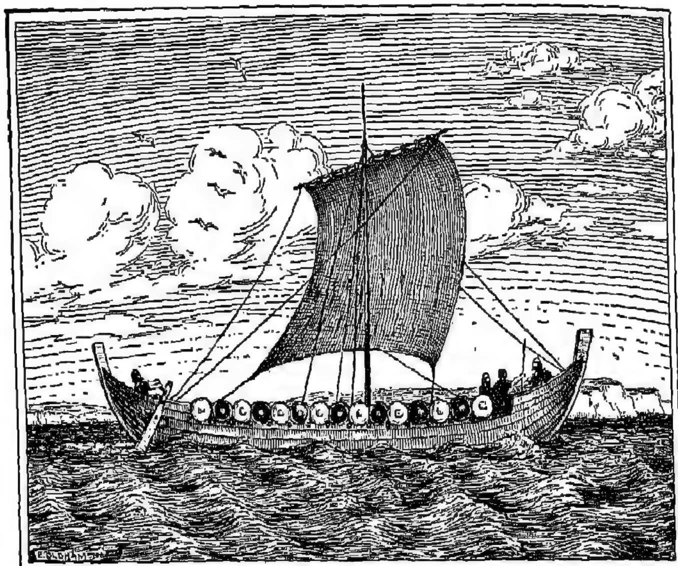
Carham 1018

[1] See above, p. 60.

[2] But the Britons of Strathclyde obeyed their own native kings till 1018.

[3] Strathclyde, at the time of its annexation to Scotland, included Cumberland. The attempt of the Scottish kings to retain Cumberland in their dominions was foiled by the vigorous policy of William Rufus, who built the fortress of Carlisle (1092).

(1034) Pict, Scot, Briton, Norseman, and the settlers of the
Union of all Scotland 1034 English race north of the Tweed were united under one ruler. But this loose confederacy of peoples had yet to be welded together to form the Scottish nation.



'In his days came first three ships of the Northmen from the land of robbers' (see p. 53). A Viking ship crossing the sea. The drawing is based on an actual ship (the Gokstad ship) unearthed in a Scandinavian burial mound. The ship is long and narrow and low, with no deck. An exact model of this ship was built in 1893, and crossed the Atlantic in four weeks, using sail alone, which proves her seaworthiness. The Viking ships drew very little water, and so could be easily beached. They were brilliantly painted, their sails were striped, and along the gunwale hung the many-coloured shields of the warriors. They carried about 50 men.

DATE SUMMARY: SAXON PERIOD

EVENTS IN BRITISH ISLES	CHIEF SAXON AND DANISH KINGS	EVENTS IN EUROPE AND ASIA
	FIFTH CENTURY	
		410 Goths sack Rome
c. 450–500 *Anglo-Saxon Settlement*		455 Vandals sack Rome
c. 460 St. Patrick *d.*		
		476 *Last Western Emperor*
	SIXTH CENTURY	
c. 540 Gildas		
		527–65 Emp. Justinian
		543 St. Benedict *d.*
563 St. Columba at Iona		
577 ⚔ Deorham		
	Ethelbert of Kent (560–616)	
597 St. Augustine in Kent		590–604 Pope Gregory the Great
	SEVENTH CENTURY	
Northumbrian Supremacy		
613 Capture of Chester	Edwin of Northumbria (617–33)	
		632 Mahomet *d.*
635 Aidan in Northumbria		
	Penda of Mercia (626–55)	
664 Synod of Whitby		
668–90 Archbp. Theodore		
	EIGHTH CENTURY	
Mercian Supremacy		
		711 Moslems enter Spain
735 Bede *d.*	Ethelbald of Mercia (716–57)	
Offa's Dyke		
W. Saxons conquer Somerset and Devon	Offa of Mercia (757–96)	
787 First Danish raids		
		786–809 Haroun-al-Raschid (*Arabian Nights*)
	NINTH CENTURY	
Wessex Supremacy		800 Charlemagne, 'Emperor of the Romans'
825 ⚔ Ellandune	Egbert of Wessex (802–39)	
844 *Kenneth MacAlpin, first King of Scotland*		
851 Danes winter in England		
870 Martyrdom of St. Edmund	Alfred the Great (871–899)	
878 ⚔ Ethandune and Treaty of Wedmore		
		885 Viking siege of Paris
	TENTH CENTURY	
937 ⚔ Brunanburh	Edward the Elder (900–25)	910 Cluniac revival
	Athelstan (925–40)	910 Duchy of Normandy founded
960–88 Dunstan Archbp.		962 Otto, King of Germany, *Holy Roman Emperor*
	Edgar the Peaceful (959–75)	
980 Danish raids begin		
	Ethelred the Redeless (978–1016)	
	ELEVENTH CENTURY	
1002 Massacre of St. Brice's Day	Canute (1016–35)	1035–87 William, Duke of Normandy
1016 Edmund Ironside *d.*	Edward the Confessor (1042–66)	
1051 Earl Godwine exiled	Harold (1066)	
1066 Norman Conquest		

DATE SUMMARY: BRITAIN AND THE NORSEMEN

SCOTLAND	ENGLAND
NINTH CENTURY (NORSE ADVANCE)	
c. 800 Norse raids	c. 800 Danish raids
839 *Overthrow of Pictish Kingdom* by Norsemen	
843 Union of PICTS and SCOTS under Kenneth MacAlpin	
	FIRST DANISH CONQUEST
850–900 Norsemen conquer the Hebrides, Orkneys, and Shetlands, and northern portion of mainland of Scotland, as far as Moray Firth	850–70 Conquest of all eastern England
	878 *Treaty of Wedmore.* England divided between Danes and Alfred the Great
	Norwegian settlement in Cumberland
TENTH CENTURY (NORSE DECLINE)	
	900–40 Reconquest of Danelaw by Edward the Elder and Athelstan
	Edmund (940–6) drives Norsemen from Strathclyde (945)
945 Malcolm I acquires overlordship of Strathclyde from King Edmund of England	
962 Indulf takes Edinburgh	
ELEVENTH CENTURY	
1014 Sigurd, Norse Jarl of Orkney *d.* His territories on mainland of Scotland pass to King of Scotland	SECOND DANISH CONQUEST
	1016–42 Danish kings
1018 ⚔ Carham. Malcolm II acquires Lothian from Earl of Northumbria	
1018 Last British king of Strathclyde *d.* He is succeeded by Duncan (grandson of Malcolm II) who in	
1034 becomes King of all Scotland	

IV

THE NORMANS

1. *The Norman Conquest*

In January 1066 the Confessor died. The Witan, disregarding the claims of Edgar the Atheling, a grandson of Edmund Ironside, chose Earl Harold to be King of England; and Harold, in spite of his oath to William, accepted the crown. **Harold II, King, 1066**

During the summer of 1066 Duke William made his preparations for the invasion of England, and how he did so is shown in the lively pictures of the Bayeux Tapestry (see p. 79). His claim to the crown was a fairly strong one. First he was, he said, the Confessor's acknowledged heir, and therefore he came to England merely to claim his own. Secondly, he denounced Harold as a usurper and an oath-breaker. Thirdly, he came with the banner of St. Peter—which floated in the van at Hastings—and the Pope's blessing. Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been a supporter of the anti-Pope. The true Pope accordingly issued a Bull (or Edict) declaring that Harold was a usurper and that William was the rightful king of England. William therefore invaded England with the object of deposing not only Harold but also Stigand. **William's preparations**

At the time that the Norman fleet was almost ready, the fleet of Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, was also preparing to invade the realm of Harold of England. This Hardrada, a giant of seven feet, had been a famous Viking who had sailed the seas from the Arctic regions to Constantinople. His fleet of 300 galleys sailed up the Yorkshire Ouse, and his army disembarked (Aug. 1066). Tostig, back from his exile, joined forces with Hardrada, whose army defeated (20 September) the Earls of Northumbria and Mercia at Fulford, near York, which Hardrada occupied. Harold was therefore obliged to leave the south and go north. He defeated the invaders at the bloody battle of Stamford Bridge (25 September), where both Tostig and Hardrada were slain. Three days later William of Normandy landed (28 September) on the coast of Sussex at **Hardrada's Invasion and Tostig's Rebellion** **Fulford and Stamford Bridge, 25 Sept. 1066**

Pevensey. Thus the Viking raid and the action of a treacherous brother meant that Harold and his army had to march along Ermine Street from London to York, fight a fierce battle, and then back again from York to London. The army accomplished each of these remarkable marches of 200 miles in nine days. Harold left instructions for Earls Edwin and Morcar to follow him south with reinforcements. But the earls never appeared.

Sussex in 1066 was not the same as present-day Sussex. Neither the long flat coast from Hastings to Eastbourne, nor the flat meadows behind it, existed. Instead, there was a coastline broken up by many river estuaries and wide bays, which have since silted up, while the country behind was marshy and difficult to cross. Skirting the marshes, William made for Hastings, which he took and fortified. He was now in a very strong position, owing to the fact that the estuaries of the Brede and the Bulverhythe made the land round Hastings a peninsula, only approachable from the north. In this strong position William waited for the English army. It appeared on the evening of 13 October, and took up a position on the hill where the ruins of Battle Abbey now stand.

William at Hastings

The flower of Harold's army consisted of his housecarls and the thegns of Wessex, who locked their shields together to form a shield-wall and so held the centre of the hill. On either side of them was the Wessex fyrd, called up from their fields with such weapons as they could find. William had the advantage of archers and of cavalry—knights clad in ring-mail who fought on horseback (which the English had not yet learnt to do).

Hastings, 14 Oct. 1066

At dawn on 14 October William brought his Normans on to the opposite hill (Telham Hill) and decided to attack. The battle lasted all day. It was begun three hours after daylight by a volley of arrows. The minstrel, Taillefer, was the first Norman to advance, singing the famous 'Song of Roland' which tells of the deeds of Charlemagne's peerless knight:

> Man for his lord should suffer with good heart . . .
> His blood let drain and all his flesh be scarred . . .

and he was the first Norman to fall.



THE COMING OF THE NORMANS

Part of the Bayeux Tapestry, showing the building of William's castle at Hastings (*castellum at Hestenga*) in October 1066. The pioneers are digging the ditch and throwing the earth up to make the mound or 'motte' (see also p. 103) (The Bayeux Tapestry is a strip of linen 200 ft. long, worked in coloured worsted. It is probably contemporary with William I and is attributed by tradition to his Queen Matilda)

The Norman army, led by William and the Pope's banner, then crossed the valley and attacked the English again and again; but the housecarls, fighting with their huge battle-axes on the spur of the hill, kept their shield-wall intact. The Norman cavalry were able to deal effectively with a courageous but premature rush downhill of the undisciplined fyrd; apart from this the Normans made little headway against the stout defence of the English. But towards evening the Normans pretended to retreat; again the fyrd, to their cost, pursued them downhill. Then it was that the Norman archers, supported by a cavalry charge, decided the issue. William ordered his archers to shoot high above the shield-wall. Harold's two brothers (Gurth and Leofwine) fell, and then Harold himself was killed by an arrow which struck him in the eye. Again 'the Normans let fly their arrows, smite and hew their way through: yet so solid did the English stand that the only movement was the falling of the dead'.[1] And so it was till every one of Harold's devoted housecarls had fallen round the body of their king, as the Scots were one day to fall around their king at Flodden. The leaderless remains of the fyrd were pursued into the dark forest of the Andredsweald. The Normans spent the night on the battlefield.

The body of the last Saxon king was found by Edith, the Swan Neck, whom Harold had loved in old times, and it was buried in Waltham Abbey which he had founded. On the spot where Harold had fallen, William in later days built Battle Abbey to commemorate the victory God had granted to his crusade; and on the roll of Battle Abbey were inscribed the names of all his knights—Norman, French, Breton, Flemish—who had fought at Hastings.

The result of the battle disposed of William's only possible rivals, Harold and his brothers. At one stroke, the back of the English resistance was broken. Office seekers like Archbishop Stigand, and waverers like Earls Edwin and Morcar, submitted to the Conqueror; but the flower of the English people lay dead on Battle Hill. But for that unlucky arrow, King Harold might have 'lived to fight another day', might perhaps have thrust the Norman duke back into the seas whence he came.

[1] William of Poitiers (chaplain of William I): 'Sagittant, feriunt, perfodiunt Normanni: mortui plus, dum cadunt, quam vivi, moveri videntur.'

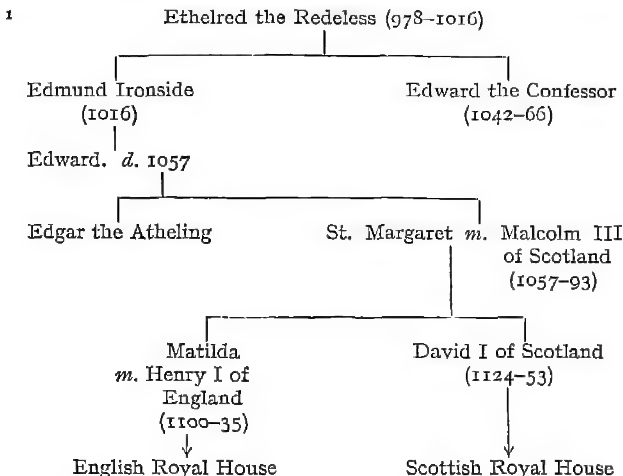
After Hastings, William's chief object was to secure London. He brought his army to Wallingford, crossed the Thames there, moved up to Berkhamsted, and so came down on London from the north. The Witan, who had already offered the crown to Edgar the Atheling—Edmund Ironside's grandson[1]—now decided to submit to William. All the chief bishops and nobles, led by the Atheling himself, came out to Berkhamsted to make their submission to William. The Conqueror then entered London, and was crowned in the Abbey on Christmas Day.

Coronation of William I

During the coronation service, the Norman soldiers present suspected some act of treachery on the part of the English and began setting fire to some neighbouring houses. So was William crowned, amid a noise of tumult and fighting, with the flames from his new subjects' houses lighting up the scene.

But England was not yet conquered: the next year (1067) there were risings at Exeter and York, the latter led by the brother earls of Mercia and Northumbria. They were pardoned, but they rebelled again (1069). This, the most serious rebellion of the reign, was aided by an invasion of Danes under King Sweyn, whose ships entered the Humber. William bought him off, then settled the north once and for all by a foul deed, worthy of a Viking's descendant. From York to Durham he

1



laid waste all the fields, and destroyed every village. The inhabitants who could not escape across the Scottish border were massacred; the very cattle were killed. This 'harrying of the north' made Yorkshire and Durham a desert—*hoc est wasta*, says the record in Domesday Book—and it was long ere the wasted country was re-populated.

Harrying of the north 1069

Hereward the Wake 1070–2

There was one more English rebellion: that of Hereward the Wake (1070). This hero, who was joined by Earl Morcar—Edwin had been killed in the last rebellion—held out for many months in the isle of Ely, then surrounded by watery marshes. But the Normans built a causeway across the marsh to Hereward's stronghold, and most of the defenders were captured, though Hereward escaped (1072). So even the waters of the Fens failed to shelter the last English leader. There could be no more risings in the ghastly desert of the north. Hastings, London, west and north and east—England was conquered at last.

2. *Feudalism and the Manor*

With the Norman Conquest is generally associated the development of Feudalism in England.

Origin of Feudal System

What is known as the Feudal System came gradually into existence in the centuries following the collapse of the Roman Empire in the west. During that long period of warfare and insecurity, the tiller of the soil found it safer to surrender his land and 'commend' himself to the armed man or lord of the neighbourhood who could protect him in the use of it, and the lord himself thereby acquired certain 'liberties' or privileges. This was what happened in Saxon England, especially during the Danish raids; and King Edgar had ordained that 'every landless man should have a lord'.

Its development in Norman England

William I did not invent or introduce Feudalism, though the Norman lawyers and lords, in dealing with Saxon custom, elaborated the system of Land Tenure,[1] and even this took a

[1] The Land Law of England after the Conquest became by degrees completely feudalized. The feudal term tenant (Latin, *tenere*) survives to this day as the 'holder' of land from a landlord. Feudal is derived, through the medieval Latin *feodum*, i.e. 'fief' or 'fee', from an ancient Germanic word meaning 'property' or 'cattle' (the oldest form of property). Note the terms fief (land), vassal (land-holder), fealty (loyalty), homage (Latin, *homo*, his 'man').

century or more to reach its full development. The name 'Feudalism', however, is a later invention of the lawyers and historians: it was unknown to the people about whom so much has been so learnedly written.

In considering the meaning and workings of the Feudal System, two points must be noted. First, as land was the chief source of wealth and power in the Middle Ages, society was organized according to a man's relation to the land. Whatever a man's occupation might be, his status as lord, freeman, or villein was determined by the conditions on which he held his land and by the extent of that land. If a man were a great lord, he was so only because he held wide lands; if he were a villein, he was so because he was 'tied to the soil'. Secondly, all classes—lords as well as villeins—had certain duties to perform, in return for whatever rights they enjoyed. **Land**

All land was held, in theory, of the king; there were no land-owners, in the modern sense of the word 'owners', but only landholders or tenants. A tenant, before receiving his land, had to kneel before his lord to do homage by placing his hands between his lord's, and then he swore fealty to his lord. The tenant was also 'invested'[1] or presented with some symbol, such as a clod taken from the soil of the manor. The oath of fealty not only bound the tenant to faithful obedience, but implied that he would perform his feudal duties and render some form of service, such as military service. **Investiture** **Fealty**

The main duty of the fighting man—the baron and the knight—was to provide soldiers, usually for forty days' service per year; the performance of this duty was what he owed the king in return for his land. Those barons and knights who held their land direct from the king were known as tenants-in-chief, **Tenants-in-Chief**

[1] *Investiture* was the outcome of feudal society, and it survives to this day. It applied to every holder of land or office, who before he exercised his rights had to be invested, i.e. presented with an appropriate symbol. For example, the investiture of a king was the receiving of his crown; of a bishop, the ring and crozier; of a baron, the sword or sceptre, emblems of military service, and of judicial privilege; of a knight, the accolade (a stroke on the shoulder by the king's sword, as nowadays when the king invests a knight); of a lord of a manor, the 'seizing' or taking of a clod from the manor. Similarly, ministers and bishops still 'kiss hands' on appointment to an office of state under the sovereign.

of whom about 1,400 are named in Domesday Book. The lesser barons and knights who held land from the tenants-in-chief, and not direct from the king, were the sub-tenants, of whom Domesday Book names about 8,000; in their case the oath of fealty was sworn in the presence of the tenant-in-chief, though the sub-tenant was sometimes called upon to pay homage to the king as well.

Sub-tenants

Aids In addition to rendering military service, the vassal had to pay to his lord feudal taxes or 'aids' on certain occasions—'for the ransoming of our body, for the making of our eldest son a knight and for the once marrying of our eldest daughter'. In the case of the marriage of the king's daughter, this 'aid' became a fairly heavy tax; for example, Henry I collected three shillings per hide (120 acres) of land throughout England when his daughter Matilda was betrothed to the Emperor Henry V. Another payment, called a 'relief', was due to the lord when a vassal succeeded to his father's estate: he could not take possession until the relief was paid. This custom resembles the modern system of death duties, which are, of course, paid to the State, now the 'lord' of all.

Reliefs

Lord and Serf

Coming lower down the social scale, we find the same principle of rights and duties at work. The lord held the land; the peasant tilled it. The lord's duty was to protect the community, and his rights included a tax on both the labour and the produce of the peasant. Conversely, the peasant's duties were to perform these personal services to the lord; his right was to expect protection, and also, by custom, to farm part of the soil for his own sustenance.

Piers the Plowman (in Langland's fourteenth-century poem)[1] expressed this relationship between peasant and lord ('Sir Knight') in this way:

> 'Surely, Sir Knight,' said Piers then,
> 'I shall swink [work] and sweat, and sow for us both,
> And labour for thy love, all my life-time,
> In covenant that thou keep Holy Church and myself
> From worthless and wicked men, that would us destroy.'

The Manor In the Middle Ages the normal unit of a holding of land was the manor, which was the Norman name for an estate, and a

[1] See below, p. 239.

manor might include a whole village, or part of one or more than one village. The manor became the local agency by which the Normans enforced their feudal arrangements. The lords, to whom manors were granted, had the great mass of the villagers at their beck and call. The Norman Conquest depressed the condition of many of the 'freemen', the ceorl or thegn of Saxon times being swamped in the large class of unfree villeins. The term 'villein' at first meant a villager, but in time it came to imply servitude.[1]

Norman lords and Saxon serfs

The lord of the manor himself had his own farm, known as the demesne (the farm of the *dominus* or lord), and this was worked by the villagers. This compulsory labour on the lord's land was one of the distinctive marks of villeinage. In return the villein had the right to cultivate certain strips of land—he might hold a bundle of thirty acres scattered in the arable fields.[2] He received no wages, but he had to do certain 'base' services for his lord—the heavy 'week work' and extra work or 'boon work'. From three to five days a week he had to provide one labourer (himself or a member of his family) to work on the lord's land. Besides this week work he had to do boon work for the lord at certain seasons, such as harvest, and on boon-days the lord kept him in bread and beer and perhaps herrings. The villein was not 'free'—he was 'bound to the soil' (*adscriptus glebae*): he could not, like the labourer of to-day, change his occupation or leave the village or even get married without his lord's permission; but as long as he lived, and performed his due services, no one could take away his land, not even the lord. When he ground his own corn, he must do so at the mill of the lord, who claimed a percentage of the produce. At Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, the lord claimed payment in kind—poultry, eggs, butter, and what

Compulsory labour

Boon work

[1] How great a change the Norman Conquest might make in a village can be gauged from this entry in the Bedfordshire Domesday Book: 'There are one villein, seven bordars and a serf' (i.e. nine 'unfree' men) in 1086, whereas before the Conquest 'nine thegns held this manor' (i.e. nine 'free' men who were probably working 'gentlemen farmers').

[2] On some manors the villein's holding was a virgate—in its commonest form about 30 acres, i.e. about one-fourth of a hide (120 acres) which was 'the original land of a Saxon household'. But the virgate may vary from 15 to 80 acres.



PLAN OF A NORMAN MANOR

not. By this system the lord of several manors was able to tour the country, living on the produce of each manor in turn; or the produce could be sent to some central residence of the lord (e.g. the monastery in the case of monastic manors), or again the lord might market the produce locally.

Bordars and Cottars

The 'bordars' and 'cottars' (cottagers) were a lower grade of villein, but even they held land—unlike the agricultural labourers of to-day. Sometimes there were also bondmen or 'serfs', who held no land but who were kept by the lord to do his chores and special tasks, e.g. the beekeeper, the hayward, the woodward, and the swineherd. But after the Conquest these serfs became manorial officials and were frequently wage-paid hirelings.

Freemen

Thus the lord of a manor had various classes of tenants. The villeins formed the great mass of the population, perhaps three-quarters. Besides the villeins, there were 'freemen' who held varying amounts of land. The freeman was 'free' in the sense that he had various legal rights, and he could enforce his rights even against the lord; he had the power to sell or alienate his land; he might have to do a certain amount of ploughing on the lord's land, but generally he owed no week work.

The Strip System

The lord's land and the peasant's land were intermingled, being mapped out into acre strips, shaped like an oblong (220 yards by 22 yards), though the shape and dimensions became altered in course of time. The lord generally had one or more ploughs, and the villein usually shared a plough and ox team with his neighbours. Thus the land was ploughed 'in common', just as custom demanded that all the strips should be sown with the same crop. The ploughing was done mostly by teams of eight oxen, hard and bony creatures very different from the fat sleek beasts of our time. Horses were used mostly for carts and road traffic.

The Common

The manorial village provided the lord of the manor with profit. It also provided the villagers with the means of existence. They not only farmed a number of strips scattered over the two or three 'open' arable fields;[1] but they also shared in the common pasture; and they fed their pigs in the woodland and their cows and geese on the large waste or 'common' which

[1] For 'open' fields and the 'acre', see Chapter II, Sect. 2.

surrounded the village. All these were important customary rights. With rare exceptions they have all disappeared to-day. The exceptions may be seen in those few towns and villages where the people still have the right to send their cattle to pasture on the 'common'.

Manor Courts

The lord's manor house was the centre of every village, and in its hall was held the Manor Court in which the villagers' quarrels and business were settled. The Conqueror retained the old Saxon Courts of Hundred and Shire, and as a rule he reserved to them those criminal cases involving life and death which the continental barons commonly tried in their own courts. The Norman lord (like the Saxon thegn before him) or his steward presided over the Manor Court, and its proceedings were determined by local tradition—'custom time out of mind'—known as the 'custom of the manor'. At the Manor Court holdings of land were re-granted on the death of a former tenant, and the grant was set down in Latin on rolls of parchment: thus, 'Henry Gell who held of the lord 2½ acres is dead. Henry his son is heir and he came into court and paid heriot (inheritance tax), 12 pence.' These manor 'rolls'—many have survived—provide pictures of every aspect of the daily life of the manor, just as the bailiff's 'account rolls' set down all the details of farming and account for literally every farthing of incomings or outgoings.

Manor Court Records

The records of the Manor Court reveal the usual human frailties. 'Walter of the Moor, thou art attached to answer in this court wherefore by night, and against the lord's peace, thou didst enter the lord's preserve and carried away all manner of fish at thy will. How wilt thou acquit thyself and make amends?'—he was judged to be at the lord's mercy (i.e. he was amerced or fined). Again: 'Henry of Combe complaineth of Stephen Carpenter that, as he was going his way at such a time, there came this Stephen and encountered him in such a place, and assailed him in villain words which were undeserved. Whereupon Henry answered him civilly and said that he was talking at random, which so enraged the said Stephen that he snatched his holly staff out of his hand, and gave it him about his head and shoulders and elsewhere all over his body, and then went off'—Stephen was remanded

till next court. 'Peter of the Water' is summoned 'because he has displaced a certain boundary stone'—a serious offence, for boundary stones marked the end of one strip and the beginning of another. 'J. le Frenshe' is summoned 'because he had beaten a woman in his fold'.

In a school-book of the eleventh century,[1] a ploughman of the manor tells of his hard daily life: 'Be the winter never so stark, I dare not linger at home for fear of my lord. . . . Every day must I plough a full acre or more, after having yoked the oxen, and fastened the share and the coulter to the plough. I have a boy driving the oxen with a goad who is hoarse with cold and shouting. I must fill the manger of the oxen with hay and water them and carry out the litter. Mighty hard work I have to do, because I am not free.' And the shepherd says: 'Very early in the morning I drive my sheep to the lea, and stand over them with my dogs in heat and cold, lest the wolves eat them up.' **Hard life of Serfs**

The villeins lived in hovels, usually divided into two parts, one for the use of the animals. Their simple dwellings, devoid of chimneys, could not have been pleasant to live, cook, and sleep in: particularly when the winter cold enforced the choice between freezing and choking in the fumes of a peat fire. It is small wonder that they often enlivened the monotony of their existence by hard drinking, ere they crept to their beds of dirty straw in a candleless room. Yet even the lot of the medieval peasant—with all its undoubted hardship, and in spite of wars, pestilences, and famines, of dark hours and the long Lenten fast—had its compensations in a security of tenure and in a share of communal life, varied only by the feasts of the Church and the changes of the seasons. **Housing conditions**

3. *William the Conqueror*

For his invasion of England the Conqueror had gained the support of the Pope by promising to dethrone not only Harold but Archbishop Stigand.[2] Therefore, when England was conquered, Stigand was deposed (1070), and his fall was followed by that of nearly all the Saxon bishops. Their places **Stigand and Lanfranc**

[1] Ælfric's *Colloquies* (a late Saxon school-book).
[2] See above, p. 77.

were taken by learned and able Norman churchmen, at whose head as Archbishop of Canterbury was placed Lanfranc, a scholarly Italian who had made his mark at the Norman abbeys of Bec and Caen. Lanfranc proved to be a good statesman. He has been called William's 'one friend', and he and the king became as close allies in the reform of the lax Anglo-Saxon Church as Dunstan and Edgar had been in their day.

Hildebrand

Hildebrand, who became Pope Gregory VII in 1073, was a great reformer. The monastic system produced many remarkable men, but none more remarkable than this Pope. Hildebrand was a little man, who spoke with a stammer; but the grandeur of his character overshadows that of all his contemporaries. He had great ambitions. He saw in the Papacy the instrument for welding together all Christian society under one head, whose behests all earthly kings and rulers should obey. His schemes brought him into violent conflict with the Emperor and he was at last driven from the Holy City. 'I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity,' he said, 'therefore I die in exile.'

William the Conqueror encouraged Lanfranc to enforce some of Hildebrand's reforms, notably that concerning the celibacy of the clergy, though Lanfranc did not compel a priest already married to put away his wife. William also set up special

Church Courts

Church Courts, separated from the ordinary courts. In Saxon times bishop and earl—or bishop and sheriff—together had presided over the shire court and jointly administered justice to both lay and cleric. Henceforth the bishop or his official, in the new Church Courts, dealt with legal business arising out of marriages and wills, with moral cases and church discipline. More will be heard of these courts and cases in the quarrel of Henry II and Becket.

William I and Papal Claims

William was, however, unwilling to admit the larger demands of Hildebrand. He flatly refused to acknowledge that he held England as a fief of the Holy See: 'I have not,' he said, 'nor will I, swear fealty, which was never sworn by any of my predecessors to yours.' William also denied the right of any ecclesiastics to complain over his head to Rome or to appeal

Appeals to Rome

to the papal court without his leave. Hearing that the Abbot of Eu, in Normandy, had done so, he remarked that he had

a great respect for the Papacy in matters which concerned religion, but, he continued, 'Si un moine de mes terres osait porter plainte contre môi, je le ferais pendre à l'arbre le plus élevé de la forêt.'

Investiture

William also insisted that abbots and bishops should be elected in the presence of the king, and he continued to invest them with the signs (ring and crozier) of their sacred office. Hildebrand, however, claimed that investiture of clerics should be in the hands of the Church, and this problem was the main cause of his bitter quarrel with the Emperor Henry IV, and later of Henry I's quarrel with Archbishop Anselm.

Thus William's reform of the Church had important results, and left some difficult problems for his successors. From his reign onwards England became more closely incorporated with Feudal and Catholic Christendom. Monastic life was reformed after the model of Cluny.[1] A new era of learning and of building began, and the country was gradually covered with splendid monastic and cathedral churches. Yet, in spite of his friendship with Hildebrand, William insisted on some measure of independence, and this spirit remained one of the chief characteristics of the Church in England.

William I was in his own kingdom by far the strongest monarch of his day; and he was so because he avoided the worst dangers of Feudalism, both as he knew it in France and as he found it in Saxon England. Let us see what these dangers were.

Dangers of Feudalism

The king, in giving out most of the land in the country to his barons, was obviously taking a risk. He had the right to exact their services; but he might not be strong enough to enforce his right. The very fact that the barons and knights were expected to bear arms gave them dangerous powers. It was very likely to lead to private warfare, as happened in Germany, and as happened sometimes in England, especially under weak kings like Stephen. The armed baron was a dangerous servant, unless he had a strong master.

There was also another danger—the actual disruption of the state. In France, for example, in the time of William the Conqueror, the whole country was split up into a dozen or

[1] See Chapter V.

Large fiefs more great fiefs, each ruled by a duke or count—William himself was one of them. These dukes and counts had become almost independent of the king; their lands became hereditary holdings, their duties merely theoretical; in these circumstances the king's power was reduced to a shadow. A similar tendency had shown itself in later Saxon England, particularly under Edward the Confessor. In his time the great fiefs of the Godwine family, and of the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, were well on the way to becoming independent provinces, like Normandy, Brittany, or Anjou.

William the Conqueror, while quite content to be an independent duke owing only nominal allegiance to a French king, was anxious, on becoming a king himself, to prevent his own vassals in England from behaving in like manner—he would not be, as the Capets in France were, 'overshadowed by the tall trees of the feudal forest'. He accordingly confiscated all the lands of those who had fought for King Harold, or who were suspected of favouring the cause of that alleged traitor and perjurer. Since the suspects included not only the great earls like Edwin and Morcar, but the vast majority of the Saxon thegns, William was able to confiscate the bulk of the lands in England. But at once he was confronted with a fresh difficulty. He had about five thousand Norman and other foreign knights, all of them greedy for land. Some of them he could trust to be faithful vassals; others he could not; time only could show which were which. The history of England for four centuries after Hastings is, in one respect, the history of the relations of the king and his barons.

William I and the Norman lords

The Manors

With certain exceptions (noted below), the barons found their manors, that is their estates, scattered all over England. This was due not so much to policy as to accident. The estates of the English thegns were already scattered in a haphazard way when William took possession; and he simply transferred manors from English thegns to Norman knights as he gradually conquered and settled the country. But he did not revive the dangerously large earldoms of Wessex and Northumbria, which had existed in the time of Canute and Edward the Confessor, for he did not favour the holding of large provincial areas by one man. The exceptions which he

made to this rule may be traced either to family connexions or to the necessity of guarding the main Borders. Thus the king gave practically the whole of Cornwall, together with large estates in Devon and Dorset, to his half-brother Robert of Mortain; nor had he reason to regret the gift. Again, William gave to another half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the title of Earl of Kent, together with a large proportion of the lands of that county. But Odo was one of the first to prove an unfaithful vassal, and William was later (1082) obliged to arrest and imprison him, and despoil him of his lands. Other Norman families, mostly related to the ducal house, were also given considerable estates.

Distribution of Manors

The Welsh Border

The largest concentrations of territory in single hands were the three earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford, created to guard the Welsh border. The earldom of Hereford was given to William Fitz Osbern, an old friend of the Conqueror. But Fitz Osbern's son, Roger de Breteuil, rebelled (1078) and lost the earldom, and after this it was not revived.[1] One English earl was spared in William's confiscations—Waltheof, Earl of Northampton; but he also was later implicated in a rebellion, and was beheaded (1076). Another large fief was the border or palatine earldom of Durham,[2] where the bishops were guardians of the Scottish Border, as the Earls of Chester were of the Welsh.

The Gloucester Meeting 1085

Near the end of his reign William took two steps which show his further determination to check the power of the feudal baronage. He spent the mid-winter of 1085 at Gloucester, and, at a great 'gemot' or meeting there, he 'spoke very deeply with his Witan concerning this land, how it was held, and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men over all England, into every shire . . .'—to inquire into the value of every estate or manor, and to place all the details on record so that they might be available when the king's 'geld' or tax was collected.

[1] The earldom of Shrewsbury came to an end for similar reasons in 1102, when the earl rebelled against Henry I.

[2] The Earl of Northumberland surrendered all his rights in the palatine earldom of Durham—between Tyne and Tees—to the bishop (1091). From then until the reign of Henry VIII the bishops held almost royal powers (*jura regalia*) in the county. Their jurisdiction was not finally brought to an end until 1836.

Every man, baron and sub-tenant, without exception, had to answer this royal inquiry and so acknowledge that the king's grant was the source of his lands and privileges. When this Great Survey of the lands was completed, the returns were arranged and classified in a businesslike way, and the complete record became known as Domesday Book, the book by which all men would be judged.

Domesday 1085

Domesday is a unique record of the land and customs of England, before and at the time of the Conquest. Its descriptions of manor and borough illustrate the old Saxon customs as well as the effects of the Conquest. Its primary purpose was, however, taxation—it was the great rate book of the kingdom —and for this reason it details the assessment of every holding, together with the rents and other kinds of income accruing to the king from every part of the land.

Domesday methods

The officers who conducted the Conqueror's Great Survey were told to record of every manor 'how it is named; who held it in the time of King Edward and who holds it now; how many hides there are; how many ploughs belong to the demesne and how many to the men; how many freemen, villeins, bordars, cottars, serfs; how much wood and meadow; how many pastures, mills, and fishponds; how much it was worth in the time of King Edward, and when King William granted it, and as it is now (1085); and if more (geld or tax) can be had therefrom than is had'. 'So narrowly' was the survey made, says the Chronicler, that there was 'not one yard of land, nor one ox nor one cow nor one swine left out that was not set down in this record', i.e. everything was recorded that had a money value and interested the treasury of the king.

Oath of Salisbury 1086

The next year the Conqueror summoned all the landholders 'that were worth aught . . . whosesoever vassals they were' to meet him at Salisbury, and there swear oaths of fealty to him, 'that they would be faithful to him against all other men'—in other words, even against their own immediate lords. How many tenants were able to travel to Salisbury to take this oath is not known. An oath of fealty was of course due, in any case, from all subjects, and William probably summoned this meeting in 1086 in view of a threatened invasion from Scandinavia. Domesday Book (1085) and the Salisbury Oath

(1086) showed that William was not satisfied till he was acknowledged to be a real king and not merely a feudal overlord. The summons to Salisbury was his last public act in England.

Discontented barons in England like Bishop Odo and Roger de Breteuil were fairly easily crushed in the Conqueror's reign; and the rebels had been punished by the loss of their lands. William had more trouble in Normandy. He had invested his eldest son, Robert, with the duchy, but had kept a close watch on the young man's government. Robert chafed under his father's interference and allied himself with some rebellious barons in southern Normandy. William thereupon laid siege to his son's castle of Gerberoi (1079); the battle was indecisive, but the king was unhorsed and wounded by his own son's lance.

Duke Robert

At the end of his reign William became involved in a war with his feudal overlord, the King of France. He burnt the French king's town of Mantes, on the Seine; but, as he was riding back through the smouldering ruins, his horse stumbled violently, causing the king a fatal internal injury. He was carried to the Norman capital, Rouen, where 'sharp death, that passes by neither rich man nor poor, seized him also'. While his second son William hastened to England across the Channel, the Conqueror was buried without ceremony in the abbey of St. Stephen, Caen, which he had founded.

Death of William I 1087

The character of William the Conqueror has been summed up once and for all by the monk who wrote this portion of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:

His Character

'This King William was a very wise man, and very rich; more splendid and powerful than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men that loved God, and beyond all measure severe to the man that gainsaid his will. . . . He was also very dignified. Thrice he bare his crown each year, as oft as he was in England. . . . And then were with him all the rich men over all England, archbishops and bishops, abbots and earls, thegns and knights. So very stern was he also and hot, that no man durst do anything against his will. . . . Bishops he hurled from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thegns into prison. At length he spared not his own brother Odo, who was a very rich

bishop in Normandy. . . . But amongst other things which is not to be forgotten is the good peace which he made in this land; so that a man of any account might go over his kingdom unhurt with his bosom full of gold. No man durst slay another, had he never so much evil done to the other. . . .'[1]

Such is the chronicler's praise. There is a pathetic note, though, in his next remark: 'Assuredly in his time men had much distress and very many sorrows. Castles he let men build and miserably swink the poor. The king himself extorted from his subjects many marks of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver.' One other complaint the chronicler makes: 'He planted a great preserve for deer, and he laid down laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind should be blinded. As greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father. He also ordained concerning the hares, that they should go free.' The Conqueror had made the New Forest in Hampshire—conveniently near the royal residence of Winchester—and many villages and farms were partly destroyed for the purpose. His successors were always trying to extend the area of forest land: in the twelfth century it comprised nearly a third of the total acreage of the kingdom. The royal forests were subject to special Forest Courts, at which those who were caught poaching were severely punished. These laws continued in force till the Charter of the Forest, wrung from King John, mitigated their severity.

The New Forest

Forest Laws

When we look at a beautiful country like the New Forest to-day, we may remember that it has not always been so peaceful, and that its loveliness was once marred by man's cruelty. The savage laws of the Norman and Plantagenet kings once kept a whole countryside in terror, and thus enforced the injunction that the king's deer should go free.

4. *The Conqueror's Sons*

William I left Normandy to Robert, and England to his second son, William Rufus; to his youngest son, Henry, he left 5,000 pounds of silver. The succession of Rufus in England

[1] 'To them that wolde his wylle do, debonere he was and mylde,
But to them that hym withseyde, strong tyrant and wilde.'
(Robert of Gloucester on William I.)

was disputed by some of the barons, led by Bishop Odo of Bayeux, who had been released from prison on the Conqueror's death. Rufus put down the rising without much difficulty, and his uncle was deprived of his lands for the second time. William II 1087–1100

The character of Rufus was not an attractive one. He was a coarse, red-faced young man, whose chief pleasure, like his father's, was hunting; but, apart from a belief in force, Rufus did not resemble his father, and certainly lacked his ability. He frequently quarrelled with his elder brother, and was relieved when Robert, fired by religious enthusiasm and the spirit of adventure, decided with Bishop Odo to join the First Crusade (1095). William lent Robert 10,000 marks for the expenses of his journey, on the security of the Duchy of Normandy.

Lanfranc died two years after the Conqueror, but William II did not fill the See of Canterbury for four years. His Treasurer, the low-bred Ranulf Flambard, had discovered that, by the simple expedient of not appointing a successor to a deceased bishop, the revenues of a vacant see could be made to flow into the royal coffers. This device was employed, to the great scandal of the kingdom, in the case of Canterbury. But soon (1093) Rufus lay, as he thought, on his death-bed, and began to repent of his many sins. He summoned Anselm, the saintly Abbot of Bec, to his bedside, and forced the unwilling monk to accept the vacant archbishopric. Anselm complained that he, 'a weak old sheep', was now yoked to 'that fierce young bull, the king of England'. But Rufus, having recovered his health, regretted his choice; he soon found that the mild Anselm was a man of unbending will. The new archbishop reproved Rufus to his face for his scandalous life. He refused to accept from the hands of the king the 'pallium', the symbol of his office, sent him by the Pope. As Rufus's conduct grew more and more unbearable, and even threatening, Anselm left the kingdom for Rome. Ranulf Flambard Anselm

The Red King was slain, possibly by accident, while hunting in the New Forest (1100). His brother Henry, who had been in the hunting party, rode straight to Winchester and seized the royal treasure. Duke Robert was still in the Holy Land, and there was no opposition to Henry's succession. Henry at Death of Rufus, 1100

once imprisoned the unpopular and extortionate tax-gatherer, Ranulf Flambard, in the Tower; a few years later Ranulf was allowed to return to his bishopric of Durham and there he busied himself with building its cathedral.

Henry I 1100–35 Henry I's Charter—issued at his coronation and ordered to be read in every Shire Court—promised, in somewhat vague terms, to redress all grievances, and to keep peace in the land. The former promise was scarcely capable of fulfilment; the latter, Henry, whom the Chronicler calls the Lion of Justice, faithfully carried out. His Charter, as will be seen, became the basis of the greatest of the Charters, obtained by the barons from King John.

Henry I was not a coarse brute of the Rufus type. His ability to read and write earned him the title of 'Beauclerc'; in his early years, says the chronicler, he 'so eagerly imbibed the honeyed delights of reading that in after time no alarms of war, no cares of business, could dislodge them from his noble mind'. His long reign of thirty-five years was one of the most prosperous and peaceful in our early history. He gained His marriage popularity with his English subjects by marrying Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III of Scotland, and a member of the old Saxon royal family of England.[1] The children of Henry's marriage were one son, William, who was drowned at sea, and one daughter, Matilda. This daughter was married, at the age of eleven, to the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry V—a brilliant match for a Norman princess. The Emperor, besides being the nominal secular head of Christendom, was the ruler of the powerful German kingdom, and he also controlled Italy.

The one and only serious rebellion in Henry I's reign occurred at its outset. His brother Robert returned from Jerusalem and invaded England; he landed at Portsmouth (1101), and marched on London. Henry agreed to pay his brother a pension; he then prepared to deal with the barons who had supported Robert's claims. The most dangerous rebel was Robert of Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury, a cold-blooded tyrant whose cruelties had long terrorized the unfortunate people of the Welsh border. The earl's castles of Shrewsbury

[1] Her mother was St. Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling. See table, p. 81.

and Bridgnorth were besieged and captured by the king, and he was forced to surrender; after which Henry banished him from the kingdom and confiscated his estates. The conduct of Bellême was but a foretaste of what the barons were to do in the next reign; but Henry would have none of it. After this time, says a chronicler, 'King Henry reigned prosperously for three and thirty years, during which no man in England dared to rebel or hold any castle against him.' The final quarrel with Duke Robert occurred after Bellême's downfall. Henry invaded Normandy, took Bayeux and Caen, and defeated his brother's army at Tinchebrai (1106) with the help of English soldiers, thus revenging the battle of Hastings. The duke was captured, and spent the rest of his life in captivity in Cardiff Castle. Henry annexed Normandy.

Robert of Bellême

Tinchebrai 1106

Archbishop Anselm had been recalled by Henry, and their relations were at first friendly. But William I's problem of the relations of the royal power with the spiritual soon arose again. Hildebrand had laid down the principle that investiture for Church offices was the Pope's privilege; on the other hand the Emperor, like William I, had claimed that it was his. Henry I made a similar claim in regard to English bishops. Anselm, backed by the Pope, Paschal II, was adamant in his refusal to allow royal investiture; and so for the second time he went to Rome in voluntary exile. Then three years later Henry I and Anselm arranged at Bec (1106) a compromise over the Investiture Question, by which bishops were to be elected by the cathedral clergy, and invested with the ring and crozier by the Pope or his legate, but for their lands they were to do homage to the king.

Henry and Anselm

Throughout his reign Henry I governed England with vigour and success. The chief council meeting of the kingdom, after the Conquest, was called *Magnum Concilium* or the Great Council—the origin of our House of Lords. It consisted of great lords of lands (including bishops and abbots), or such as could conveniently attend, and it inherited some of the traditions of the Witan. This Council was summoned into the King's Court—*Curia Regis*—which sat wherever the king happened to be. In Henry I's time, as state business increased, various developments of the King's Court took place.

Curia Regis

First, a smaller council became active, consisting of the great men of the king's household and their clerks—the Justiciar (the King's Vicegerent), the Treasurer, the Chancellor (King's Secretary), the Chamberlain (Head of the King's Household), the Marshal and Constable (concerned with the feudal forces). Secondly, it became the duty of the Treasurer[1] to preside over the Exchequer Court, so called from the chequered cloth covering the table of accounts. At this Court the sheriffs and others paid in their piles of coins and had their accounts audited. This system was begun by Henry I's famous Treasurer, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury; and ever since his time the Exchequer has been the government office for collecting and managing the national revenue. Thirdly, we can discern the beginnings of the system of itinerant[2] judges—that is, justices of the King's Court who travelled to the shire courts to do the king's financial and judicial business. Thus Henry I was responsible for an important development of the King's Court, and he selected and trained a body of permanent officials to carry on the work of government. It was to these that he gave his confidence rather than to the feudal magnates, who were not always interested in good government. His system was developed by his grandson, Henry II.

Towns and trade were growing in Henry's day, partly owing to an influx of French traders and of Jews. The wealth of London, in particular, enabled the citizens to buy valuable privileges from the king. The famous charter of the City of London, granted by Henry I, allowed the citizens to collect the revenues of Middlesex, in return for a rent of £300 a year payable to the Exchequer; Danegeld, still levied on the rest of England, was given up in London; and the citizens were allowed to choose their own sheriff and justiciar. Here, in the cherished privileges of London, we see a beginning of self-

Charter of London

[1] The office of *Treasurer* is no longer held by one man. His place as head of the Treasury is now taken by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer.* Distinguish between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Lord Chancellor—originally the King's Chancellor (official Secretary)—who in course of time became the highest officer of the Crown and the head of the law. (*Chancellor*—one who sat *ad cancellos,* i.e. at the grating which separated the public from the judges.)

[2] i.e. judges *in itinere* (or, in eyre), i.e. on circuit.

government in English towns, which was to be so important a feature of the later Middle Ages.

Henry's only son, William, was drowned in 1120. In 1125 his daughter, the Empress Matilda, became a widow. Married again to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, she was declared Henry's heiress; and the Norman barons were forced to take the oath of fealty to her as her father's successor both in England and Normandy. Unfortunately her son, the future Henry II, was only two years old when his grandfather died (1135); and the peaceful reign of the first Henry gave way to nineteen years of confusion. **Matilda**

5. *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign*

Henry I died in Normandy. In England the Great Council of barons, influenced by the Bishop of Winchester, at once put forward the claims of Stephen of Boulogne, who was the bishop's brother, to succeed to the throne. Stephen was the late king's nephew, and therefore a grandson of the Conqueror. He was a more acceptable candidate for the throne than Henry's daughter, Matilda, who, besides being a woman, was married to an Angevin, detested by the Normans. Stephen, on his arrival in England, was therefore acknowledged as king by the Great Council—all of whom had sworn allegiance to Matilda—and he was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury. **Stephen chosen King, 1135**

King Stephen, the chronicler observes, was 'a mild man'; he was quite unable to manage the barons, as his uncles and grandfather had done, particularly as the situation was complicated by the claims of Matilda to the throne. Matilda was not a more dangerous rival than Duke Robert had been in the previous reign; but her invasion of England had a very different result. Many of the barons took this opportunity of throwing off the royal authority, and without fear of popular vengeance—so complete was the subjection of the Anglo-Saxons to their foreign rulers. Some of the barons supported Matilda, not so much from a liking for her cause as from a liking for baronial anarchy. War was the barons' trade; the civil war from which England suffered for nearly twenty years was their work. They immediately took on the features of the **His Character** **Baronial Anarchy**

wicked giants in the fairy tale: a morbid imagination could not invent worse horrors than those soberly related by the chronicler. His dreadful tale shows how necessary it was for the royal power to quell the tyrants of the castle.

'When the traitors understood that he (Stephen) was a mild man and soft, and good, and no justice executed, then did they all wonder. They had done him homage, and sworn oaths, but they were all forgetful of their troth; for every rich man built his castles, which they held against him, and when the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then took they those whom they suspected to have any goods, labouring men and women, and threw them into prison for their gold and silver, and inflicted on them unutterable tortures; for never were any martyrs so tortured as they were. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese and butter; for there was none in the land. Never yet was there more wretchedness in the land; nor ever did heathen men worse than they did; for they spared neither church nor church-yard, but took all the goods that were therein, and then burned the church and all together. If two men, or three, came riding into a town, all the township fled from them, concluding them to be robbers. To till the ground was to plough the sea; the earth bare no corn, for the land was all laid waste by such deeds; and they said openly that Christ slept, and His saints.'[1]

The events of Stephen's 'reign' may be briefly told. He met with some success at the outset. Robert of Gloucester (Matilda's half-brother) was defeated in the west of England, and the invasion of King David of Scotland in the north was repelled by the victory at the Battle of the Standard (1138). But Stephen then proceeded to quarrel, first with a powerful section of the barons, led by the Treasurer, Roger of Salisbury, and then with the bishops, led by his own brother of Winchester. Shortly afterwards Matilda landed in England; the king was defeated and taken prisoner at the Battle of Lincoln (1141). The bishops, now on Matilda's side, declared her queen; but she, in endeavouring to raise a tax from the citizens of London, was expelled from that city before she had been crowned. Next, her brother Robert was captured, and, to procure his release, the king was set free. He besieged Matilda

Civil War

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1137.



3. ENGLAND AND NORMANDY, 1066–1135

Nearly all the English castles founded by the Norman kings are marked. The Welsh castles, with a few exceptions, are not marked, as they are too numerous. The conquest of Wales went on throughout the Norman period.

in Oxford Castle, whence she escaped in a white cloak over the snow (1142).

Meanwhile Matilda's husband had conquered Normandy. When he died (1151) he was succeeded by his capable son, then aged eighteen. This Count Henry landed in England (1152), and began operations by relieving Wallingford Castle, which was holding out for his mother. Stephen's supporters melted away. The bishops, who had again quarrelled with Stephen, now arranged a peace. It was suggested that, since Stephen's son, Eustace, had died, Henry should be acknowledged as heir to the throne, while Stephen should reign unopposed for the remainder of his life. Stephen agreed (Treaty of Wallingford, 1153), and his death in the following year ensured the peaceful accession of Henry of Anjou, who was to prove himself a greater king even than William of Normandy.

Henry of Anjou

Death of Stephen 1154

NOTE ON NORMAN CASTLES

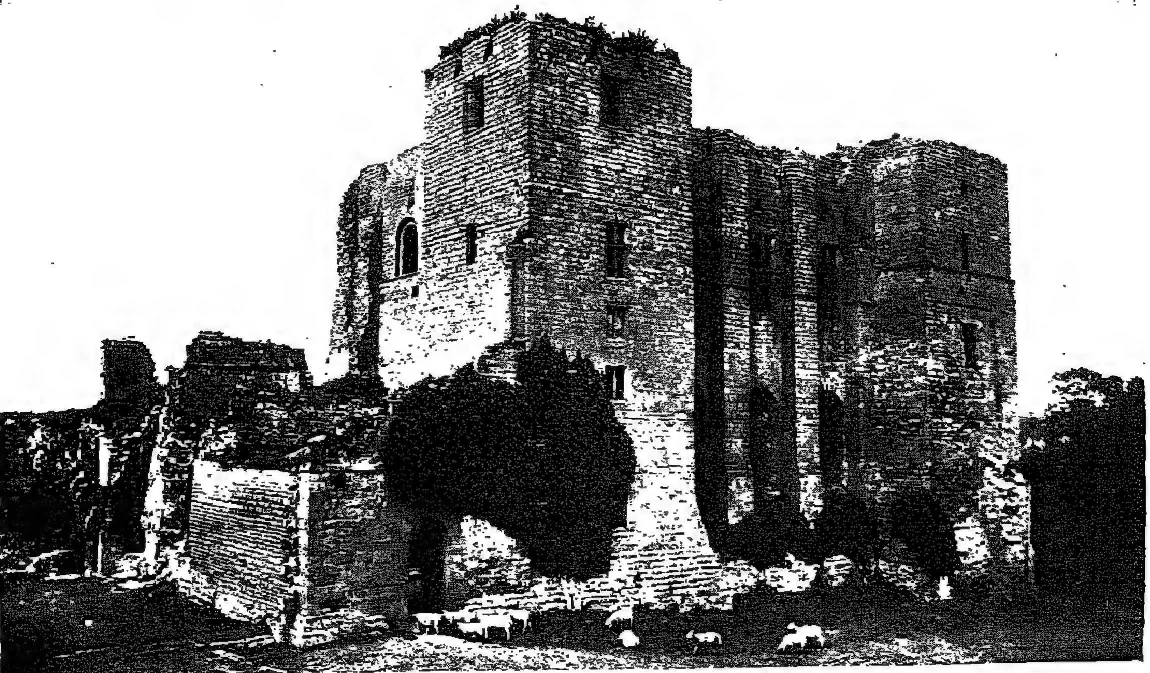
Like the Romans, whom they resembled in many ways, the Normans were great builders. But whereas Roman work in England has largely perished, much of the Norman work remains, the most impressive witness of the life of that time. Besides building a large number of churches, cathedrals, and abbeys,[1] the Normans built castles to hold down the conquered country and to keep the people in subjection.

Of the Conqueror's castles, very few were built of stone,[2] the White Tower of London being the chief exception. His castles were thrown up quickly at strategic points all over England and along the Welsh border. They consisted, at the centre, of an earthwork and wooden fortifications. The earthwork was a mound, called the 'motte', on the top of which was a wooden tower. At the foot of the 'motte' was a rectangular enclosure known as the 'bailey'. The castles shown on the map were all founded during the reigns of the Norman kings. Dover, Pevensey, Arundel, and Corfe guarded the south coast; Exeter, Bristol, and Berkeley, the west; London, Windsor, and Oxford, the Thames Valley; Colchester, Norwich, and Lincoln, the east; Warwick, Kenilworth, and Nottingham, the Midlands; York and

Motte-and-bailey Castles

[1] See Chapter V, Sect. 2.

[2] The great majority of the massive stone 'keeps' were built by Henry II or later kings.



The Photochrom Co.

THE AGE OF CASTLE BUILDING

The great Norman keep of Kenilworth Castle. The square mullioned windows were inserted in Elizabethan days

Pontefract, the Pennine border. Another important group was built on or near the Scottish border—Richmond, Durham, Newcastle, Alnwick, and Carlisle.

The Welsh Border

Perhaps the most important group of castles lay on the Welsh March (border). Shrewsbury and Montgomery Castles tell of the power of the Montgomeries, Earls of Shrewsbury. Chepstow and Cardiff Castles mark stages in the conquest of south Wales. The three earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford were founded by the Conqueror to form a line of defence against the Welsh. But defence soon turned to attack. First under the three chief earls, afterwards under lesser barons, the Norman conquest of Wales was pushed rapidly forward—until, early in the reign of Rufus, Arnulf of Montgomery reached the Irish Sea and founded Pembroke Castle (1090). But the early foundation of Pembroke did not mean that the whole of south Wales was conquered. On the contrary, the difficulty of holding down the Welsh, in a country where every hill harboured a rebel, was immense. Hence south Wales, and the border counties of Hereford, Monmouth, and Shropshire, are richer in Norman fortresses than all the rest of England put together. A cycle ride, say from Chepstow to Carmarthen, will reveal an astonishing number of these ruined fortresses, where either the original Norman mound, or some part of the later stonework, can be clearly seen.

DATE SUMMARY: THE NORMANS (1066–1154)

ENGLAND AND NORMANDY	EUROPE AND THE EAST
WILLIAM I	
1057–93 *Malcolm III of Scotland*	
1066 ⚔ HASTINGS	
1069 Harrying of the North	
1072 Capture of Ely	
	1073–85 Gregory VII Pope (Hildebrand)
	1076 Turks capture Jerusalem
1085 DOMESDAY BOOK	
1086 Oath of Salisbury	1086 Carthusian Order
1087 William I *d.*	
THE CONQUEROR'S SONS	
1087–1100 William II	
1090 Pembroke Castle built	
1092 William II builds Carlisle Castle	
1093 Anselm Archbishop	
	1096–9 FIRST CRUSADE
	1098 Cistercian Order
1100–35 Henry I	
1106 ⚔ Tinchebrai	
	1118 Knights Templars
1120 Prince William *d.*	
1124–53 *David I of Scotland*	
	1125 Emp. Henry V *d.*
STEPHEN	
1135 Stephen chosen King	
1141 ⚔ Lincoln	
	1147 Second Crusade
1151 Geoffrey of Anjou *d.*	
1153 Treaty of Wallingford	1153 St. Bernard *d.*
1154 Stephen *d.*	

V

THE MONASTIC SYSTEM

1. *The Three Great Revivals*

THE tale of strife and bloodshed, which fills so much of feudal times, gives a very one-sided picture of the Middle Ages. The Castle tells one story; the Abbey another. For those less boisterous spirits who naturally shrank from the rough life of the day, there was the monastic career, with its ideal of service to God, and its welcome seclusion from a half-barbarous world. Little wonder that many of the noblest spirits of the Middle Ages turned towards this ideal.

The monastic ideal The Christian monastic system has a history almost as long as that of Christianity itself. It first arose in the East, where pious men sought the shelter of the deserts of Egypt or Syria in order to live a life of contemplation. The earliest monks were hermits or anchorites, living apart from their fellows, and completely cut off from the world. Then, during the anarchy which arose in the Dark Ages after the fall of the Roman power in the West, many monks laboured to convert the heathen to the Christian faith. St. Patrick, and the Irish, Cornish, and Welsh saints, belong to this period.

St. Benedict St. Benedict, who lived about the same time as these missionaries, was the man who gave to the monastic life a form from which, in essentials, it never afterwards departed. His 'Rule'[1] was the model for all later foundations. From his time, the old idea of the hermit life was abandoned in favour of the communal life—the monks living together in one group of buildings, under the direction of an abbot or prior. Monks came to be known as 'regular' clergy, i.e. those who were bound by a 'rule' (Latin, *regula*): other clerics, including parish priests, were called 'secular' clergy, i.e. those who lived in the world (Latin, *saeculum*) and not the cloister.

There were several monastic revivals[2] in later centuries.

[1] See above, pp. 39–41.

[2] It should of course be remembered that monasteries were an ever-present influence in England from the tenth century to the Reformation.

The three most important were those of the Cluniacs (founded 910), of the Carthusians (founded 1084), and of the Cistercians (founded 1098).

The Cluniac Revival

The Cluniac revival, as has been seen,[1] began with the foundation of Cluny in Burgundy, where a more strict observance of the 'Rule' was insisted upon. The Cluniacs were distinguished from the older Benedictine monasteries by the fact that all their houses were subject to the discipline of the parent Abbey at Cluny. Their reforms had a profound influence on western Europe, including Saxon England in Dunstan's time. This influence reached its height in the eleventh century, and culminated in the work of Hildebrand, who had studied at Cluny.

Carthusians, 1086

The last years of the eleventh century saw another revival. St. Bruno founded a new Order, known as the Carthusians (1086) from the name of the original monastery in the Grande Chartreuse, near Grenoble. The Carthusians united two hitherto separated ideals. They lived, as other monks did, in one community, in one building, and were ruled by an abbot; but they combined these arrangements with a reversion to the older idea of solitary contemplation. Their monasteries contained separate cells, where the monks spent the greater part of their time alone.[2] The silence of the days was broken only by the church services and by occasional meetings in the Chapter House. In spite of the strictness of their rule, the Carthusians fell short of their ideal far less than the other Orders.

Cistercians 1098

The third revival was the Cistercian, the most successful of the new Orders, founded by Robert of Molême at the Abbey of Cîteaux, in Burgundy (1098).[3] The great St. Bernard, who was for forty years a remarkable power in Europe, was a member of this Order. Under his influence the Cistercians attained a world-wide celebrity; and St. Bernard himself was regarded

[1] See above, p. 61.

[2] 'In passing through some of the cells of the Grande Chartreuse, noticing that the window of each cell looked across the little garden to the wall of the cell opposite, I asked a monk why the window was not rather made in the side of the cell whence it could open to the solemn fields of the Alpine valley. "We do not come here", he replied, "to look at the mountains."'—Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*.

[3] The second Abbot of Cîteaux was Stephen Harding, an Englishman.

in his own lifetime with a greater reverence than Pope or Emperor. No decision which St. Bernard made was ever questioned; he was venerated by thousands, and was visited by kings; he appointed a Pope, and started a Crusade. Yet he was a simple-minded monk, whose enormous power rested solely on the fact that men, even the worst men, reverenced the monastic ideal, and recognized in St. Bernard its most perfect example. When he died (1153), there were 300 Cistercian monasteries in Europe, a number which was doubled during the next hundred years.

St. Bernard

The Cistercian ideal of simplicity was applied even to the architecture of their abbeys and to the ornamentation of the church itself. That they might not be distracted by the society of other men, they chose sites for their monasteries remote from towns, in secluded valleys—like the Yorkshire dales—among the mountains and moors. The Cistercians were known as the White Monks, because they wore a robe of undyed wool, to distinguish them from the Black or Benedictine Monks.

The Cistercian was the last great monastic revival. The twelfth century was the period when the influence of monasticism was at its height; the life of St. Bernard marks its culminating point. After this there was a reaction against the severely ascetic life of the Cistercians, and they, and the older Orders (except the Carthusians), began to fall away from their ideals. The simplicity which St. Bernard had enjoined was often forgotten; the abbeys became famed for their riches, and for the costly ornaments of gold and silver which decorated their churches, and even the vessels of their table. The habits of the monks showed, in other ways, a decline from their former virtues. But it must be remembered that the monasteries flourished in a more barbarous age than ours. Monastic life, even in its decline, contrasted favourably with life outside, where conduct, judged by modern standards, was incredibly loose.

Finally, it was the monks, more than any other people, who in the early days before the foundation of universities kept alive the spirit of learning. Monastic libraries preserved precious manuscripts, which, by the labours of the monks,

Work of the monks

were copied out for the use of future generations. It is to the monastic chroniclers and scribes that we owe much of our knowledge of the history of the Middle Ages. In England the successive historians of St. Alban's Abbey, of whom the greatest was Matthew Paris (Henry III's reign), wrote the history of their own times. Similar chronicles were written at Canterbury, Worcester, Winchester, Peterborough, and Durham.

2. *The English Monasteries*

Glastonbury

The oldest English monastery is Glastonbury, said to have been founded by the British Christians who survived the Saxon invasions. Glastonbury was a great meeting-place for the Irish monks; they instructed St. Dunstan, who afterwards became its Abbot (943). Later, in Henry II's time, there was extensive rebuilding at Glastonbury; the Chapel of St. Mary, the most perfect of the ruins that remain, was built then (1186). The other buildings were magnificent, but they nearly all perished in the pillage that followed the Reformation.

First Benedictines in England

The history of Glastonbury, stretching from Celtic Britain to Tudor England, covers a thousand years. But Glastonbury, owing to its position in the extreme west, is exceptional. Most other English monasteries were founded either by the Saxon or Norman kings or their nobles. The Rule of St. Benedict was introduced into England by St. Augustine (597). The flourishing monasteries of Northumbria, where Bede worked (673–735), belong to the period of the Saxon Heptarchy. Alfred's reign was a great victory over those enemies of European civilization, the Danes, and an impetus to both religion and learning; the famous annual record, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which he began, was the work of monks. Under his successors, the Saxon kings of England, many monasteries were founded, including Winchester, Peterborough, and Bury St. Edmunds.

The reforms of St. Dunstan marked a great advance of the Benedictine Order in England. A century later the Norman rulers continued this advance, and some of the noblest monastic buildings which still survive were then raised (see pp. 117, 118).



THE MORE IMPORTANT MONASTERIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES (MEDIEVAL)

Monastic building continued throughout the Plantagenet period. The remains of these buildings to-day present a melancholy picture. By far the greater number have perished during the centuries since the Reformation. Even in the buildings which have survived the iconoclastic fury of the sixteenth

Monastic buildings

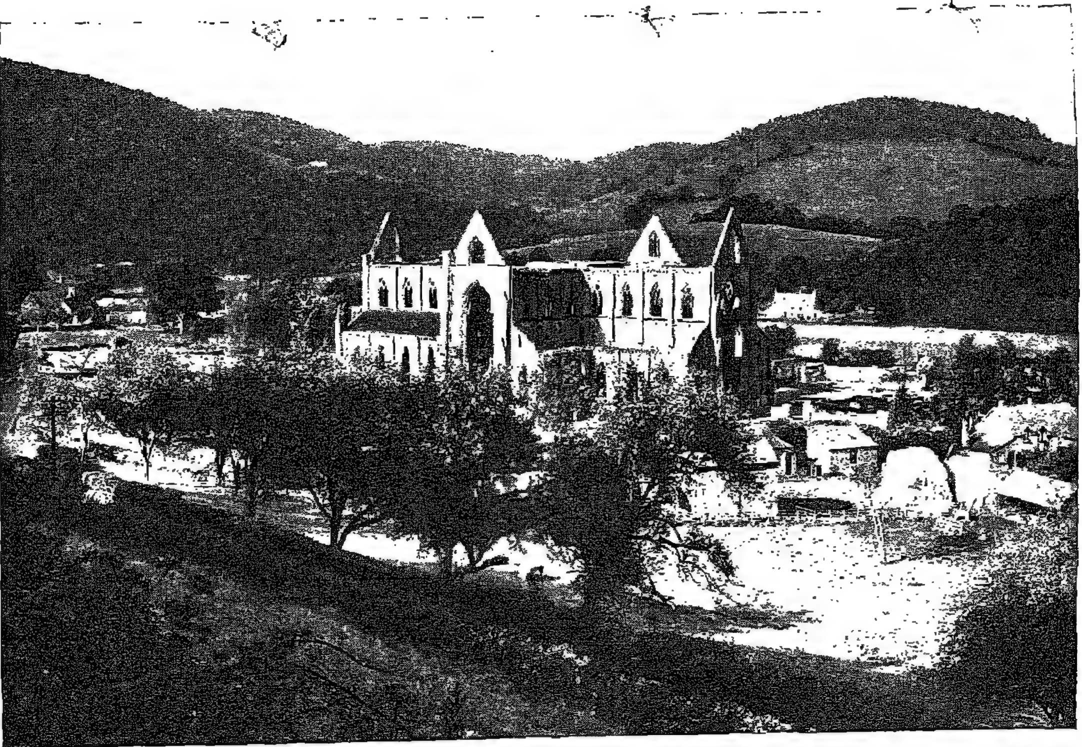
century, it is usually only the church and sometimes the cloisters which have been allowed to stand. For the rest, we have only ruins: and it is among the ruins that we must form our picture of the glorious abbeys of medieval England, some of the noblest creations of the Age of Faith and indeed of all ages. Westminster remains, and the monastic cathedrals remain; but many once great houses are irrevocably destroyed.

Austin Canons In Henry I's reign the Austin Canons came to England, so called because they followed the Rule of St. Augustine of Hippo. They were monks in all but name. Their houses were numerous in England, and include the beautiful Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire, and the monastery of St. Frideswide, Oxford, afterwards Oxford Cathedral. Many of their priories were hospitals rather than monasteries; such was the famous St. Bartholomew's Hospital at Smithfield, dating from Henry I's reign, and still surviving as 'Bart's'. **St. Bartholomew's Hospital**

3. *Daily Life of a Monastery*

The best way of picturing the daily life of a monastery is to pay a visit to a monastic ruin. There are several abbeys suitable for this purpose; one of the best is Tintern, situated in the beautiful valley of the Wye. Tintern was a Cistercian house, founded in the twelfth century (1131) by the lord of Chepstow. The Abbey was rebuilt and enlarged about a century later, when the present buildings were begun. The cloisters and other buildings belong to the thirteenth century; the church to the fourteenth century. **Tintern Abbey**

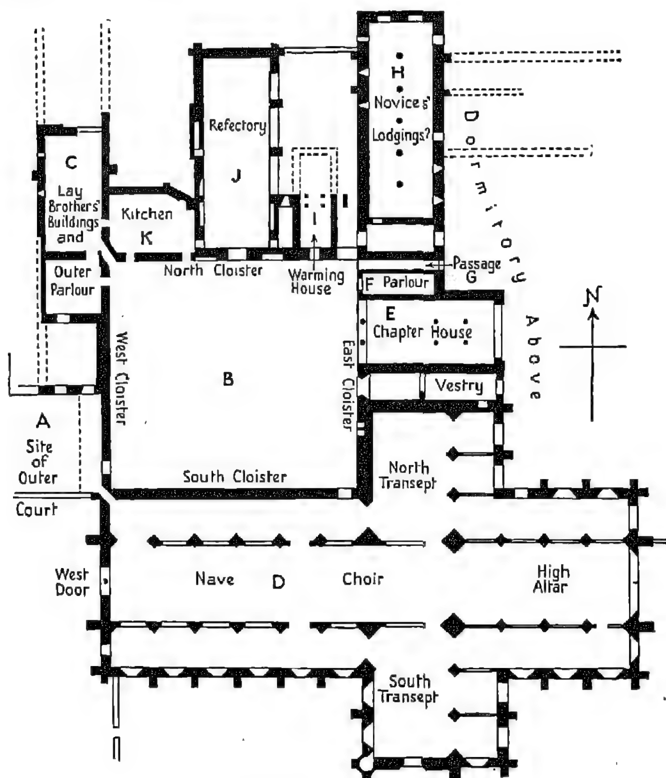
We approach Tintern from the west, and notice first the site of some buildings (A) which once formed the outer court of the monastery. It was here that the dealings between the monks and the outside world took place. Here stood the main gateway, with the almoner's lodge beside it; for it was part of the business of the monastery to distribute alms to the poor and needy. The rest of the outer buildings were taken up by the Abbot's house, where the Abbot entertained his guests, the hospitium or guests' lodgings, and the stables for their horses. Monastic entertainment was sometimes conducted on a large scale, since the monastery was the medieval hotel, used by all who could afford to travel. The guests were received



TINTERN ABBEY

by the hosteller, whose duty it was 'to be careful that perfect propriety should be found in his department—the whole Guest House kept clean of spiders' webs and dirt and strewn with rushes under foot'.

The Guest House



PLAN OF TINTERN ABBEY

So far we have not entered the monastery proper. Let us do so by the west gate of the cloister. The cloister was, apart from the church, the centre of the life of the abbey; it was here that the monks spent their hours of study. It was built in the form of a hollow square with a covered-in and paved walk, and

The Cloister

it enclosed a lawn or garden (B). The west side of the cloister at Tintern is taken up by a group of buildings (C) probably occupied by the lay brethren, who were largely employed in Cistercian monasteries to do manual work. At Tintern the church is built on the south of the cloister, not on the north, as was the more usual practice. The church (D) was the most important part of the buildings, since the abbey existed primarily for the purpose of worship. There were normally seven services during the day, not counting Mass.

The Church

On the east of the cloister stood the council-chamber or Chapter House (E), where the monks met after High Mass for the discussion of any matters affecting the daily routine of the monastery. Next to the Chapter House at Tintern is a parlour (F), then a passage (G), leading to the infirmary, which stood at some distance from the other buildings. At the north-east corner of the cloister are the remains of another building (H), perhaps the novices' lodgings. The novices were boys who entered the monastery with the object of receiving an education and of training for the monastic life. This monastic school was not open (as in Saxon times) to boys who did not intend to embrace the life of the cloister.

Monastic School

Over all these buildings, from the novices' lodgings right up to the church (see plan), ran the monks' dormitory, so placed that the brethren might descend by a stairway to the church for the midnight service. Turning to the north cloister at Tintern, we find the common-room (I), which contained the chief (in early times the only) fireplace in the monastery; and then the refectory (J), where the monks dined, and the kitchen (K) next door. The refectory was arranged, like a college hall, with a high table at one end, for the abbot and the chief officers of the monastery. There was a pulpit near by, from which one of the brethren read aloud at meals. On fast days, every Wednesday and Friday, and all Lent, fish was eaten instead of meat. But, in spite of fasts, the fare was luxurious in the wealthier monasteries, especially in later medieval times.

The Refectory

Buildings which (like the almonry for the distribution of alms and the guest-house) no longer exist at Tintern are the scriptorium and the library. The scriptorium was a building

The Scriptorium

set apart for the writing of books, and some of the manuscripts thus made or copied were placed in the library. Many of these precious documents perished in the vandalism of the Reformation, but some have been preserved in our museums. These manuscripts were often finely illustrated by pictures of saints, or of more familiar subjects such as animals and flowers, often quaintly drawn and painted in glowing rich colours.

To sum up, the monastery existed first of all for men to devote their lives to prayer and praise; hence the church was the main building. The secondary objects of monastic life were study, the writing of books, the education of novices, the giving of alms, the entertainment of guests, and the cultivation of the soil (by lay brethren); and we are reminded of these things by the cloister, the scriptorium, and the novices', guests', and lay brothers' lodgings. Lastly, the needs of ordinary daily life were met by the dormitory, the refectory, and the kitchen.

The arrangement by which the monastic buildings were grouped round the cloister has been followed in the plan of many schools and colleges, substituting the quadrangle for the cloister.

APPENDIX

Monastic remains in England

Cluniacs

The first Cluniac house founded in England was at Barnstaple (Devon), but St. Pancras, at Lewes in Sussex (1077), was the foremost Cluniac house in England. Henry I was a great patron of the Cluniacs; he founded Reading Abbey (1121). After his death in France his body was brought to Reading for burial. His bones rested there until they were scattered in the reign of Edward VI, when Reading Abbey was destroyed.

Carthusians

There were only nine Carthusian monasteries in England, of which the best known is the London Charterhouse, converted into a Public School after the Dissolution.

Cistercians

The Cistercian houses were much more numerous; the first was founded (1128) at Waverley in Surrey in Henry I's reign. The Cistercian abbeys were all built in lonely places, and the labour of the monks often converted what was formerly a wilderness into a prosperous countryside. The settlement of the Cistercians in the Yorkshire dales led not only to the building of beautiful abbeys,[1] but to the beginning of the Yorkshire sheep-rearing industry. It was the Cistercian monks who began the sheep-farms to which Yorkshire owes so much of its prosperity. The situation of their abbeys, usually in places not only solitary but singularly beautiful, gives to their ruins a special charm. Vale Crucis (Denbighshire), Buildwas (Shropshire), Furness (Lancashire), Beaulieu (Hampshire), Buckfast (Devonshire), and above all Tintern, on the banks of the Wye, may be compared with the famous Cistercian group in Yorkshire (see map, p. 113). Among the Benedictine monasteries once imposing but now in ruins are Crowland, Evesham, Pershore, Whitby, and St. Mary's, York (see map). A similar fate has overtaken the great Cistercian abbeys of Yorkshire, together with all the smaller abbeys and priories throughout England. 'How silent now; all departed, clean gone.'[2]

Some Cathedrals formerly Monasteries

Those monastic churches that have survived owe this to one of several causes. First, there are eight cathedrals which were associated with medieval monasteries (all Benedictine except Carlisle)—Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester, Norwich,

[1] Fountains, Jervaulx, Rievaulx, and Byland.

[2] Carlyle, musing in *Past and Present*, on 'these old St. Edmundsbury walls'.

Ely, Durham, and Carlisle. All these cathedrals were, contrary to the ordinary Catholic practice, usually served by monks instead of secular clergy. These cathedrals were all preserved at the Reformation, though the monasteries attached to them were dissolved. Secondly, there are five cathedrals—Peterborough, Gloucester, Oxford, Bristol, and Chester—which were formerly ordinary monasteries, but which became cathedrals at the Reformation. Westminster Abbey owes its preservation to the fact that Henry VIII made it into the seat of a bishopric; and, though the bishopric was shortly afterwards suppressed, the Abbey was allowed to stand. Thirdly, some abbey churches were converted into parish churches at the Reformation; among such are Tewkesbury, Malmesbury, Romsey, Sherborne, and St. Albans (since made into a cathedral). Lastly, as at Sherborne and Repton, some of the monastic buildings have been preserved in the form of a school.



A MONASTIC SCRIBE AT WORK

VI

HENRY II AND RICHARD I

1. *The Plantagenets*

THE rise of the House of Anjou to a commanding position in western Europe was one of the most rapid and spectacular in history. In 1137 Geoffrey Plantagenet[1] was merely Count of Anjou and Maine: twenty years later his son Henry was lord of two-thirds of France and King of England. Geoffrey himself was an ambitious man. While his wife Matilda was trying (1135–52) to wrest the English crown from King Stephen, Count Geoffrey employed his time in conquering the Duchy of Normandy. The year after Count Geoffrey died, his son Henry married (1152) Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, who had just been divorced by her first husband, Louis VII of France. Eleanor's marriage to Henry overthrew the balance of power between England and France, for his wife's dowry, together with his own inheritance in Normandy and Anjou, gave Henry control of the western half of France (see map, p. 120). Two years after his marriage he succeeded Stephen as King of England (1154), and so became lord of all the land from the Tweed to the Pyrenees.

Geoffrey of Anjou

Henry of Anjou

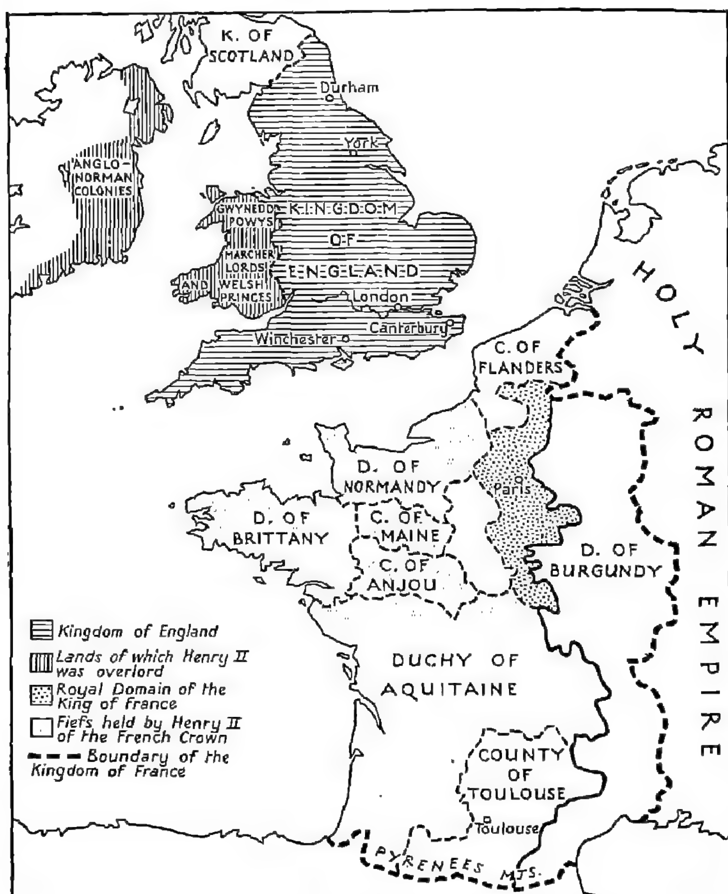
Henry's accession, which placed the Plantagenet dynasty on the English throne, gave to England a line of remarkable kings. They were all able men, yet most of them were unfortunate. Henry II was one of the ablest of his line; he has left his mark for ever on England and on her laws. So strong a tradition of royal supremacy did he establish that it stood the strain even of the reigns of those inefficient sons of his, Richard I and John. But Henry II's loveless marriage brought its own bitter reward in domestic unhappiness and ungrateful sons; and the king who had moulded England to his will died at the last unloved and almost unmourned.

Henry II (1154–89)

His wide French possessions naturally led Henry to spend a

His activity

[1] Plantagenets, so called from their badge, a sprig of broom—*planta genista.*



THE BRITISH ISLES AND FRANCE, SHOWING THE ANGEVIN DOMINIONS, 1173

good deal of time in his native land. Nevertheless, by his strong rule he soon brought order into English affairs. With ceaseless activity he journeyed through the length and breadth of the land, ready to pounce upon some false sheriff or rebellious lord. His chaplain tells how 'if the king decides to spend the day

anywhere, you may be sure he will get off early in the morning, and this sudden change will throw every one into confusion. Then you may see men running about like mad, urging on the pack-horses, driving chariots one into another, all in confusion as if hell had been let loose. . . .' The barons at once realized that they were dealing with a master. So they submitted with little resistance to the king's order to pull down the unlicensed castles erected in Stephen's reign. The day of feudal anarchy in England was over.

2. *St. Thomas of Canterbury*

When he had restored peace to a country sadly in need of that blessing, Henry's orderly mind turned to the problem of the administration of his kingdom. The most famous of his ministers was Thomas Becket. The son of a London merchant and one of Archbishop Theobald's clerks, Becket was raised from obscurity by the king's influence and was made Chancellor of England (1154). He became Henry's greatest personal friend and principal adviser. He lived in great magnificence; his house was resplendent with gold and silver, and he gave entertainments the cost of which he did not trouble to consider. **Thomas Becket**

When Becket was made Archbishop of Canterbury (1162) all this was changed. He adopted an ascetic mode of life which contrasted strongly with his former luxury as a courtier. More important still was the change in his relations with the king. Becket had warned Henry that 'Man cannot serve two masters', that if he became head of the Church in England their friendship would be strained; and so indeed it proved. The two men were well matched: Henry was imperious, masterful, determined to bend all England to his will; but Becket was imperious too, and regarded it as his duty to resist the king in the name of the Church.

It has been seen that William I had separated the Church Courts[1] from the civil courts. Henry II wished all his people to be subject to the king's law, and his policy was to assert the royal supremacy against the Church as well as against feudal privilege. The main clash with the Church arose over the question of criminous clerks. It was now claimed by the **Church Courts**

[1] See above, p. 90.

Church that erring clerks in holy orders should be tried by the Church Courts, even if they had committed criminal offences. This custom was called 'benefit of clergy'. The Church Courts could not punish even murderers except by imposing a penance, or by degradation from office, and so Henry complained that 'it took two crimes to hang a priest'. The matter was made worse by the fact that, besides the monks and the parish clergy, there was a whole host of officials in 'minor orders' to whom the Church extended her protection. In fact, almost any man endowed with the unusual gift of being able to read and write might call himself a 'clerk'.

The year after Becket became archbishop, a clerk who had committed a murder was let off with a light sentence. Henry determined to take action. He announced that in dealing with criminous clergy he proposed to return to the custom that had obtained in the time of Henry I, and he demanded the archbishop's assent. Thomas gave a vague assent but, when he met Henry and his Council at Clarendon, 'he regretted having made this concession to the king. Wishing to withdraw from his promise, he said that he had sinned greatly in ever yielding, but that he would sin no farther.' Henry then produced what he regarded as the ancient customs of the realm, and these afterwards became known as the 'Constitutions of Clarendon'. The document included some clauses concerning ancient disputes, for example that cases tried by the archbishop's court could not be referred to Rome without the king's leave.[1] On the main question of criminous clerks, Henry proposed that clerks who had been found guilty by the Church Courts, and degraded from their orders, should then be handed over to the civil courts for punishment. He demanded that the archbishop should set his seal to the Constitutions (1164): Becket refused, adding that 'God does not judge a man twice for the same offence'. Henry, extremely angry, summoned the archbishop to another Council at Northampton. Becket arrived, went to the church, said Mass, and then, taking his archbishop's cross in his hand, waited on the king. Henry refused to see him, but sent the Earl of Leicester to demand his submission. 'Robert,' said Becket when the earl appeared, 'by the allegiance which

Constitutions of Clarendon 1164

[1] See above, p. 90.

you owe me as your spiritual father, I forbid you to speak.' The earl hesitated, and Becket swept out of the hall. His defiance was complete, but it was not safe to remain in England. He left the kingdom in disguise, and remained in exile in France for six years (1164–70).

Becket in exile 1164–70

Abroad, he sought the help of the Pope, who, however, was too busily engaged in his own struggle with the Emperor Frederic I to afford Becket much support. Henry, for his part, seized the revenues of the See of Canterbury, and Becket replied by excommunicating the king and all his ministers. At the end of six years the quarrel was patched up, and Thomas was allowed to return (December 1170). Unfortunately, a new cause of disagreement now arose, for Henry had caused his heir, Prince Henry, to be crowned king by the Archbishop of York during Becket's absence. This was an affront which Becket would not pass over in silence. As soon as he reached England, he demanded a confession of their fault from all the bishops who had taken part in the coronation, and followed this up by excommunicating certain of the king's barons. When this news reached Henry in France, he flew into a black rage. 'Are there none of the dastards eating my bread who will rid me of this turbulent priest?' he cried. The words did not fall on deaf ears; four knights rose from his table determined to give to Henry's hasty, wrathful words a literal interpretation. They took ship to England, and proceeded at once to Canterbury (1170).

Becket's return and new quarrel

It was the evening of the 29 December; vespers were being sung in the Cathedral. The monks, hearing the approach of the knights, wished to bar the doors, but Becket said: 'It is not meet to make a fortress of the house of prayer.' The knights entered, with swords drawn, and those who had been singing vespers 'ran hither to the dreadful spectacle'. The monks tried to hide Becket, but he fearlessly approached his adversaries, who cried out: 'Where is Thomas Becket, traitor to the king and realm?' He came forward and replied: 'I am here, no traitor to the king, but a priest. Why do ye seek me?' Then they laid sacrilegious hands upon him, while he vainly strove, by clinging to a pillar, to avoid capture. But one of the knights struck him with his sword on the crown of the

Murder of Becket, 1170

head, cutting off part of the scalp. Other blows followed. Becket fell to his knees and cried out: 'For the name of Jesus, and the protection of the Church, I am ready to embrace death.' The murderers struck again; and, to the horror of the beholders, the blood of the archbishop stained the steps of the altar. 'Let us away, knights,' said one of the murderers, 'he will never rise again.'

The thrill of horror caused throughout Christendom by this murder and this sacrilege reacted on the king. Henry sent his ambassador to the Pope to protest his ignorance of the murderers' intentions. But the Pope would not absolve Henry from his sin till he had renounced the clause of the 'Constitutions' dealing with appeals to Rome (1172). Finally Henry performed a spectacular public penance, praying before the altar where his victim had perished and permitting his royal body to be scourged by the monks. Henceforth, till the Reformation, criminous clerks were protected from the royal wrath and justice by the shadowy form of the martyred archbishop lying in Canterbury Cathedral.

Henry's penance

St. Thomas canonized

The Pope canonized Becket, and to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury men came 'from every shire's end'. His name became a legend, a wonder; miracles wrought at his tomb were reported almost as soon as he was dead. St. Thomas at once became the most popular saint of England because he was a hero of England. The king may have been right and Becket wrong; but the king appeared to be a tyrant, and Becket the brave archbishop who alone had dared to oppose him in the name of the Church. The people may bow to tyrants, but they love those—even if they are as arrogant and aggressive as Becket—who withstand them. Herein lies the secret of St. Thomas's hold on popular affection for four centuries.

3. *The Work of Henry II*

The quarrel with Becket formed but one incident, though an important one, in Henry's thirty-five years' reign; he did not entirely succeed in getting his own way in the Becket controversy, but he succeeded in almost everything else.[1] The

[1] Becket as Chancellor was the minister to whom he gave his fullest confidence. But the office of Justiciar, though filled by men who played

constitution and laws of England have not been made by any one man or body of men at one particular time, as happened in France and in America; in England these things have grown up slowly. But it was Henry II and his ministers who shaped a reasoned system of law for the whole land and determined the form in which it should grow after their time. **The Reign of Law**

Feudalism, as we have seen, placed the vast majority of the population under the control of local barons, whose power under a weak king like Stephen exceeded that of the central government. Henry II succeeded a king, Stephen, in whose reign the barons did much as they pleased. Henry not only gave the country order instead of anarchy; he so extended the working of the central government that the power of the Crown was felt by every man in England.

The centre of government was the King's Court—*Curia Regis*—and the increase in its power is the key to Henry II's work. In Henry I's time the Exchequer Court—the first offshoot of *Curia Regis*—had been set up to deal with the financial affairs of the realm. The Exchequer now became the heart of the government. Most of the men engaged in the king's business—Justiciar, Chancellor, Constable, Chamberlain, Marshal, Treasurer, and other 'discreet men sent by the king'—met at the exchequer board. Under Henry II *Curia Regis* 'branched like a living tree', and the Court of Common Pleas[1] took shape during his rule. **The Exchequer Court**

But the sitting of the King's Court (or Courts) was not enough to establish justice in England. In the first place, the

a less spectacular part in history than Becket, was one of great importance, for he presided over the Exchequer and was recognized as ruler of the kingdom during the king's many absences in France. It was through his Justiciars—Robert, Earl of Leicester, Richard de Luci, and Ranulf Glanvill—that Henry carried out his many legal reforms.

[1] The *Court of Common Pleas* heard the appeals of the numerous lords and other freemen who brought their pleas before the king's judges. After *Magna Carta* it sat permanently at Westminster, to save its suitors the trouble and expense of following the king on his incessant journeys. The *Court of King's Bench* did not take shape till after Henry II. It was so called from the raised seat or bench in Westminster Hall (built by Rufus) on which the King used to sit when his officials were summoned *in curiam regis* (into the King's Court). Criminals are still tried in a Court of King's Bench (though no longer sitting in Westminster Hall).

King's Court was held wherever the king happened to be; and, as he was constantly on the move, it was a difficult business to follow him.[1] Even when some Courts were permanently set up at Westminster, it was an expensive matter for some people to come to London. But, if the people could not come to the Court, the Court could go to the people. Henry I had begun the use of itinerant or travelling justices. By the famous

Assize of Clarendon 1166

Assize[2] of Clarendon (1166), Henry II regularized this system, which still continues in our present-day assize courts. He instructed his judges to tour the shires at regular intervals to inquire into the king's rights, to assess taxes in each county, and to inspect the work of the sheriffs and even of the barons' own courts. Thus through these itinerant justices he brought the local machinery of shire and hundred into close relations with the central government.

Beginnings of the Jury System

By this same Assize of Clarendon a further step was taken to organize the Jury System. Twelve law-abiding men from each hundred, and four from each village in the shire, were required to declare on oath whether any one in their shire was 'suspected' of being a robber or murderer since Henry became king; and they were to 'present' the suspects to the king's judges in the Shire Court. This body of neighbours became known as the 'jury', that is, men sworn (*juré*) or put on oath to answer questions which the king's officials put to them.

This employment of a jury was not new. William I had used juries to ascertain facts and rights for the Domesday Survey—and to answer questions such as 'what was the state of this piece of land and what was it worth in Edward the Confessor's time?' Henry II greatly developed the use of the jury. He employed it for all kinds of business—not only for *criminal* cases ('what persons are suspected of being murderers, or robbers, or false-coiners?'), but also for *civil* cases, concerning the possession of land ('has Hugh or Ralph the greater right

[1] Richard of Anesty followed Henry II for five years through most parts of England, Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, till at last he won his case. But it was a ruinous success, as he had to borrow money from the Jews at 86⅔ per cent. But his case was probably an exception. (Quoted by McKechnie, *Magna Carta*.)

[2] *Assize*, i.e. a royal decree issued in an 'assize' (or sitting) of notables.



THE EXCHEQUER WEIGHING COIN IN THE KING'S PRESENCE

A drawing in a medieval manuscript.

to this land?'), and again for *administrative* and fiscal affairs ('what profits—forfeitures, treasure-trove, etc.—have fallen to the Crown; what are the misdoings of the sheriff and his bailiffs?'). The use of juries and their election in the local courts was an important step towards self-government.

Henry II's juries, it should be noted, were 'witnesses'[1] only of one fact—the fact that the persons they presented were 'suspected' of certain offences. The actual *trial* of a criminal was conducted in a manner which nowadays we might think barbarous enough. The Normans favoured the custom of trial by Combat, by which the victor in a fight was judged to be in the right. There was also an older custom, trial by Ordeal, by which the accused had to carry a hot iron for a certain number of paces; if after three days the scar was found to be festering the accused was guilty, but if the scar was clean, then he was innocent. The Ordeal, we must remember, was a religious ceremony, an appeal to the supernatural, and it was the normal procedure in early law. Gradually these ancient customs fell into disuse, and in due course Pope Innocent III abolished the Ordeal (1215).

Trial by Ordeal

When the Ordeal was no longer available to settle the guilt or innocence of the suspect, the king's judges began to have recourse to a jury, who were asked to state on oath, and to pronounce a verdict, whether the person presented as suspect was really guilty. This *jury of trial* of later times came to be known as the Petty Jury (which is still in use), to distinguish it from the 'accusing' jury or *jury of presentment* which came to be known as the Grand Jury (now abolished). Our medieval ancestors, however, did not always think trial by jury a just plan, and those who refused to answer how they would be tried might be starved or pressed to death with weights (a form of torture known as the *peine forte et dure*).

Trial by Jury

Henry II took several steps to limit the power of the barons. Early in his reign he instituted 'shield-money' or Scutage (1159), by which feudal magnates paid the king money instead of bringing their sub-tenants to his army, thus enabling him

Scutage 1159

[1] Contrast Henry II's juries with the *modern jury*, who are not supposed to know anything of the case, or of each other, till they come into court.

to hire mercenaries who would be loyal to him and not to the barons. In 1170 he sent round justices to inquire into the conduct of the sheriffs (Inquest of Sheriffs). As a result of this a good many barons were removed from the sheriffdom and replaced by royal officials from the Exchequer. Towards the end of his reign Henry issued the Assize of Arms (1181), by which he directed all the freemen in England to furnish themselves with arms according to their means. Thus he revived and re-armed the Saxon fyrd or national army. He saw that an army of freemen, called up by the sheriffs, would be a useful safeguard against foreign invasion or baronial revolt, and more dependable than a feudal array.

Inquest of Sheriffs 1170

Assize of Arms, 1181

To sum up Henry II's reforms: though he was the French-speaking lord of great dominions (of which England was but one part), Henry II organized, from the King's Court as centre, a system of law for our whole land. He may be called the father of our system of Law Courts and of the jury system—though the jury of his time was not the jury we know to-day. He attracted men to the King's Court by giving them more expert and cheaper justice than the local courts of manors, hundreds, or shires. Two important results followed. First, there grew up the idea of the King's Court as the fountain of Justice, the beginning of the idea of the majesty of the law, which is one of the distinctive marks of English life. Secondly, the decisions of the king's judges, which were written down, formed valuable precedents; they became the basis of what is called the Common Law of England.

Importance of Henry's work

In one part of these islands the reign of Henry II saw the opening of a troubled page of history. The connexion between England and Ireland began in this king's reign. The English entered Ireland in 1170, on what proved to be the beginning of their conquest of the country. Ireland in the twelfth century resembled Britain in the sixth century. It was ruled by tribal chiefs, of whom one was called High King of Ireland; five more were nominal heads of the provinces—Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and Meath. There was continual fighting between the various tribes. One chieftain, Dermot Macmurrough, King of Leinster, invited the help of an Anglo-Norman baron from Wales, usually known as Strongbow, Earl

Ireland

Strongbow in Ireland 1170 of Pembroke. Strongbow landed in Ireland (1170), married Dermot's daughter, and succeeded him as King of Leinster. Henry II visited Ireland in the following year, and Strongbow did homage to him for Leinster; many Irish chiefs followed his example and acknowledged the English king as overlord of the island. Henry then left Ireland to Strongbow and his fellow adventurers. Later he meditated making the country into a subordinate kingdom for his youngest son; but Prince John's expedition to Ireland (1185) was a complete failure.

Henry II spent most of his time in travelling about his wide dominions, and in enforcing justice. His work was twice (1173–4, 1188–9) interrupted by the rebellion of his sons, who were encouraged by their mother. His eldest son, Henry, was crowned king during his father's lifetime, but the relations between father and son were not happy. The elder Henry's attempt to provide lands in France for his youngest and favourite son, John, provoked the younger Henry's rebellion (1173–4). There followed two summers of civil war, reminiscent of the days of Stephen. Many of the great Anglo-Norman barons, whose estates lay on both sides of the Channel, joined the younger Henry in an attempt to dethrone his father; but the old king was solidly supported by the lesser barons, the sheriffs, and the new ministerial class. The midlands, under the Earl of Leicester, were the centre of the rebellion in England, but the invasion of the Scottish king, William the Lion, rallied the north for Henry. The King of Scots was captured at Alnwick, forced to do homage to Henry, and to surrender some of his castles (Treaty of Falaise, 1174). In France the rebellion was more serious: the younger Henry was joined by his brothers, Geoffrey and Richard, by the King of France and by many of the barons of Brittany, Normandy, and Aquitaine, struggling for independence; but by the end of the following year this great feudal revolt was crushed.

First rebellion of Henry's sons, 1173–4

The king's sons, however, remained dissatisfied with their share of the royal power, though Geoffrey had become Duke of Brittany by marrying the heiress, and Richard had been made ruler (1175) of Aquitaine. A few years later, however, the younger Henry died and Geoffrey followed him to an early grave. But Richard, now heir to the throne, could neither

wait for his inheritance, nor leave his father to enjoy his declining years in peace. He joined Philip Augustus, who had lately become King of France, in an alliance against Henry (1188). The old king took the field once more, was defeated, and forced by Richard and Philip to make peace. At this juncture he learnt that his favourite son John had joined the rebellion. It was a bitter blow, and thereafter the king lost all interest in the world. Shortly afterwards death (1189) ended an existence that was no longer endurable for the greatest and the wisest king in western Europe.

Second rebellion, 1188

Death of Henry II 1189

4. *Richard I and England*

Richard I, the successor of Henry II, is chiefly remembered for his exploits in the Holy Land[1] and as the opponent of the courteous Saladin. He was born in England, but up to the age (32) when he came to the throne he had paid only two visits to his native land. He was a Frenchman by descent, by upbringing, and by interest. His only concern with England was to use that kingdom as a source of money supplies for his Crusading adventure. For this purpose he sold, often to the highest bidder, bishoprics, great offices of state, and claims to feudal jurisdiction. He also sold charters to towns. In return for a handsome payment he released the King of Scots from his oath of fealty (Treaty of Canterbury, 1189) and thus cancelled the Treaty of Falaise. Having made all these arrangements to his satisfaction, King Richard left for the Holy Land (1190). He took with him about forty ships, the first English navy to appear in the Mediterranean.

Richard I 1189–99

Sale of offices

After he had taken Acre, quarrelled with his fellow Crusaders, and made peace with Saladin, Richard returned home. On his way back (1192) he was taken prisoner by Leopold, Duke of Austria, whom he had offended. For his ransom 150,000 marks were required—an enormous sum in those days when coins were scarce. Most of this money was raised in England, by the exaction of a quarter of all land revenues and of the value of personal property. On regaining his liberty Richard paid a flying visit to England. Then he turned from his proper task of governing his kingdom to the more congenial business

Richard a prisoner

[1] See Section 5.

of war with a fellow Crusader, Philip of France, who had attacked Normandy in his absence. Prince John, who had also tried to seize Normandy, and had acted generally during Richard's captivity as though his brother were dead, was not punished as he deserved for his treachery. Richard merely deprived him of his lands, and spared his life, more out of contempt than mercy. For the remainder of his reign, Richard was occupied in France.

Hubert Walter

England during several years of Richard's reign was ruled by Hubert Walter, who combined the offices of Justiciar and Archbishop of Canterbury. It says much for Henry II's system of government that his servants made it work without a king at the head of affairs, and in spite of the excessive taxation which Richard demanded. Walter even carried Henry II's methods farther. He used juries in the shires for the assessment of land for taxation. He employed the knights of the shires to help keep the King's Peace in their counties, and in this we may see the origin of the Justices of the Peace, the local gentry of later times who did so much by way of local government. He also granted charters of self-government to various towns, on payment, of course, of a sum of money, and under him London first obtained the right of electing its own Mayor (1191). But the Justiciar Walter was unpopular in England, though it was not his fault that the absent king demanded a constant flow of money abroad—first for his Crusade, then for his ransom, then for his French war.

Justices of the Peace

Richard's death, 1199

In 1199 the news of Richard's death was brought to England. He had been killed outside the castle of Chaluz, near the town of Limoges, which he was besieging. It cannot be supposed that Englishmen grieved overmuch at his death. Perhaps they might have done so had they known what was in store for them under his successor!

5. *Richard I and the Crusades*

(i) *The Age of Chivalry and the Crusades.*

The First Crusade took place in the reign of William II of England—though there is little in the character of that king to remind us that he lived in an heroic period. But it is not

Chivalry

the brutal Rufus who stands as a pattern of medieval chivalry, or even those wise kings Henry I and Henry II. For such a type we must look to the unfortunate Robert of Normandy, who lost a kingdom to go on a Crusade, to the weak-willed but knightly Stephen, and to Richard Cœur de Lion.

The Knight

A knight was not merely a landholder who owed military service to his lord; he was also supposed to represent in his own person the ideal of Chivalry and to share 'the spiritual kinship of all true knights'. He went through a long and arduous training, which began when he entered his lord's household as a page. Here he waited at table and lived with the lord's family. At fourteen he became a squire, and, until he came of age, he followed his lord in this capacity in the hunting-field or the field of battle. At twenty-one, if judged worthy, he was dubbed a knight, either by the king or by some great lord, who girded him with a sword. This sword lay, during the night preceding the ceremony, before the altar of a church, where the knight-elect kept his vigil till daybreak:

> Then by some secret shrine I ride;
> I hear a voice, but none are there;
> The stalls are void, the doors are wide,
> The tapers burning fair.
> Fair gleams the snowy altar-cloth,
> The silver vessels sparkle clean,
> The shrill bell rings, the censer swings,
> And solemn chaunts resound between.[1]

At the ceremony, when he was invested with sword, spurs, and coat of mail, the knight swore to guard the defenceless and to give his life, if need be, for the Christian faith. The knights whom we meet in the pages of Malory[2] typify these high ideals which we call 'Chivalry'—the *Morte d'Arthur* glows with the warmth and beauty of the knight's conception of chivalry and his love for the great deeds and great men of the visionary past. But we could scarcely expect to meet, in the actual medieval world, such perfect knights as Sir Lancelot or Sir Galahad.

[1] Tennyson, *Sir Galahad*.

[2] Sir Thomas Malory (died 1471). His *Morte d'Arthur* was printed by Caxton.

The Tournament

When not engaged in actual war, knights often spent their time in the mock warfare of the tournament.[1] These contests drew great crowds, and were the medieval counterpart of the modern cricket or football match:

> 'It was a goodly sight [says Scott, describing such a scene] to behold so many gallant champions, mounted bravely, and armed richly, stand ready prepared for an encounter so formidable, seated on their war-saddles like so many pillars of iron. . . . As yet the knights held their long lances upright, their bright points glancing in the sun, and the streamers with which they were decorated fluttering over the plumage of the helmets. Thus they remained while the marshals of the field surveyed their ranks. . . . Then William de Wyvil, with a voice of thunder, pronounced the signal words—*Laissez aller!* The trumpets sounded as he spoke—the spears of the champions were at once lowered and placed in the rests—the spurs were dashed into the flanks of the horses, and the two foremost ranks of either party rushed at each other in full gallop, and met in the middle of the lists with a shock, the sound of which was heard at a mile's distance.'

The Crusades

Chivalry found its highest ideal in the Crusades, the Holy Wars of the Cross. The First Crusade, which took place during Rufus's reign, deserves far more attention from the point of view of world history than any of the deeds or misdeeds of that monarch. To trace the causes of the Crusades, we must glance as far back as the age in which were living those very different contemporaries, St. Augustine and Mohammed. In the sixth century of the Christian era the Holy Land fell into the hands of the conquering Arabs—the early followers of the Prophet Mohammed,[2] the founder of Islam. By the end of the seventh century the Arabs had conquered the whole of the southern shores of the Mediterranean, and built up a great empire extending from the Straits of Gibraltar[3] to the Persian Gulf.

The Moslem World

By the tenth century the Moslem dominions were split into three caliphates, those of Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordova. Each was distinguished for its civilization and learning. The schools

[1] See Scott, *Ivanhoe*, chapters 7 and 12.
[2] See above, p. 50.
[3] Spain was conquered in the eighth century.



THE AGE OF CHIVALRY

A medieval carving in ivory, depicting a tournament held outside a town, the gate of which can be seen on the right. Some of the spectators are watching from a kind of grand stand, others from the city walls.

of Cordova or Cairo could show a degree of culture vastly superior to anything to be found in the half-barbarous Europe of the early Middle Ages. In Spain, the fact that the Christians occupied the northern half of the country led to ceaseless warfare between Christian and Moor; but in the East relations were more friendly. The sea and the dominions of the Eastern Empire—with its capital at Constantinople—cut off western Europe from direct contact with Islam. But pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem were not interfered with by the tolerant Arabs, who indeed regarded the Founder of Christianity with feelings of considerable reverence.

The Seljuk Turks

All this was changed by the advent of the Seljuk Turks. The peace of the Near East and of Europe had been disturbed several times in history by inroads of barbarians[1] from the plains of Tartary in Central Asia; and it was from there that the Turks came. They derived their name from one Seljuk, a Tartar chieftain. His grandson, the first great Turkish sultan, captured Baghdad (1055), made the Caliph a prisoner, and ruled in his name. The Turks soon conquered Persia, and then turned upon the Eastern Empire. They defeated the Emperor (1071), and Asia Minor passed into Turkish hands. They then conquered Syria and Palestine, and captured Jerusalem (1076).

Turks capture Jerusalem, 1076

The rise of the Turkish power had a profound effect upon world history, not only in Asia, but in Europe. The change from an Arab to a Turkish lord of western Asia was a change for the worse. The Turks professed Mohammedanism, but their adopted religion was a thin veneer which covered a real barbarism, inherited from their Tartar ancestors. The change was soon felt by the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem, who were cruelly molested by the Turks—a fact which gave rise to the legend of Peter the Hermit, whose preaching was said to have kindled the enthusiasm for the First Crusade. Unless steps were taken to check the Turkish advance, the days of the Eastern Empire were evidently numbered. Baghdad—Antioch—Jerusalem—all had fallen; it would be the turn of Constantinople next. The Emperor therefore appealed to Hildebrand's

Ill-treatment of Christians

[1] e.g. the Huns, who helped to break up the Roman Empire (*c.* 450); the Magyars, who settled in Hungary (*c.* 900); and the Bulgars, who were among the invaders of the Eastern or Byzantine Empire (*c.* 950).

successor, Pope Urban II, to arouse all Europe to his aid. The Pope, realizing that, if Constantinople fell, Italy and the West and indeed all Christendom would be in danger, was quick to respond to the Emperor's appeal.

Council of Clermont 1095

At the Council of Clermont (1095), Urban II discussed the project of a Holy War against the Turks. He also preached a sermon on the same subject to a vast crowd which, roused to a tremendous pitch of enthusiasm, broke into cries of '*Deus vult*' (God wills it). 'It is indeed the will of God,' replied the Pope, 'and let this memorable word, the inspiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the devotion and courage of the champions of Christ. His Cross is the symbol of your salvation; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark on your breasts or shoulders, as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement.'[1]

The First Crusade 1096–9

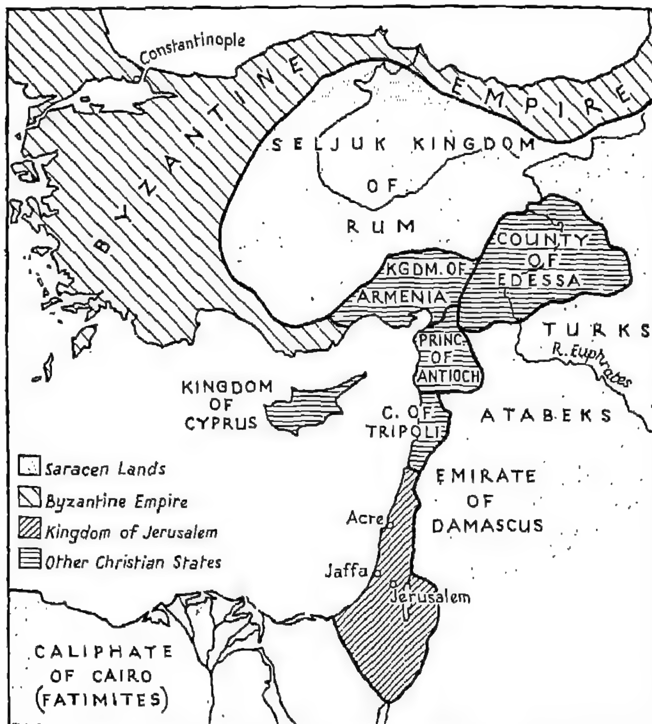
The result of Pope Urban II's action was the First Crusade. The Pope's example was followed by thousands of preachers throughout Christendom. Amidst tremendous enthusiasm, scarcely paralleled in history, multitudes took the Cross, encouraged to do so by the Pope's assurance that all penitents who fell fighting in the Holy Land would be sure of salvation. The first enthusiasts, indeed, would not wait for the Crusade to be properly organized. Three successive bands of Crusaders—little better than leaderless mobs—wended their way (1096) through France, Germany, and Hungary to Constantinople. The Emperor prudently shipped these undisciplined allies across to Asia, where most of them were slaughtered by the Turks.

Capture of Jerusalem 1099

The real Crusade began the next year (1097). Its leaders were drawn from the feudal nobility of western Europe; prominent among them were the knights of Normandy and Norman Sicily, including Robert, Duke of Normandy and brother of William Rufus. Leaving Constantinople, the Crusaders entered Asia Minor and took Antioch. Next year they stormed and captured Jerusalem (15 July 1099) amidst scenes of disgraceful brutality and massacre. The Christians turned from the work of slaughter to make a procession to the Holy Sepulchre. But next day their rage returned: 'Every one was eager for blood

[1] Gibbon.

. . . some scaled the roof of the Temple itself and massacred both men and women with the sword . . . such a slaughter of pagan folk had never been seen or heard of; none knows their



ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE

number save God alone.' Well might the eyewitness confess that 'the Crusaders forsook God before God forsook them'. However that may be, the First Crusade proved the most successful of all the Crusades. Five Christian states, including the kingdom of Jerusalem, were set up in Syria. Godfrey de Bouillon was elected the first King of Jerusalem, but he, the gentlest of the Crusading knights, refused to wear a crown of gold in the city where his Saviour had worn a Crown of Thorns.

The Crusaders' States in Palestine

Another result of the First Crusade was the formation of certain new Orders of soldier-monks, whose character, half religious, half military, reflects the general spirit of the Crusades. The Knights Templars began (1118) with a Burgundian and eight other knights, who devoted themselves to the protection of the poor pilgrims to Jerusalem. These knights were given a house near Solomon's Temple, from which they took their name. Ten years later the Pope recognized the Templars as a definite religious Order. They rapidly increased in numbers. As a religious brotherhood, they took the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience; as soldiers, they soon became the main bulwarks of the Christian states in Palestine.

Knights Templars 1118

The Order of St. John of Jerusalem arose from a hospital which had existed, even before the First Crusade, for the poor and sick among the Christians at Jerusalem. When the Templars were formed into a religious Order, the master of St. John obtained permission to reorganize his own brotherhood on a military and religious basis; and so the Knights of St. John—or the Hospitallers—came into existence.

Order of St. John of Jerusalem

Both these Orders (like other monastic Orders) soon acquired great wealth in the form of lands, given them both in Palestine and in most western European countries.[1] In England the Templars settled in Holborn in Stephen's reign, but moved to the site of the present Temple, on the banks of the Thames (1184), where their church can still be seen.[2] The Templars, who grew in wealth and pride, but not in usefulness, were suppressed by order of the Pope (1312). And to-day their buildings in London are occupied by the lawyers of the 'Middle Temple' and the 'Inner Temple'.

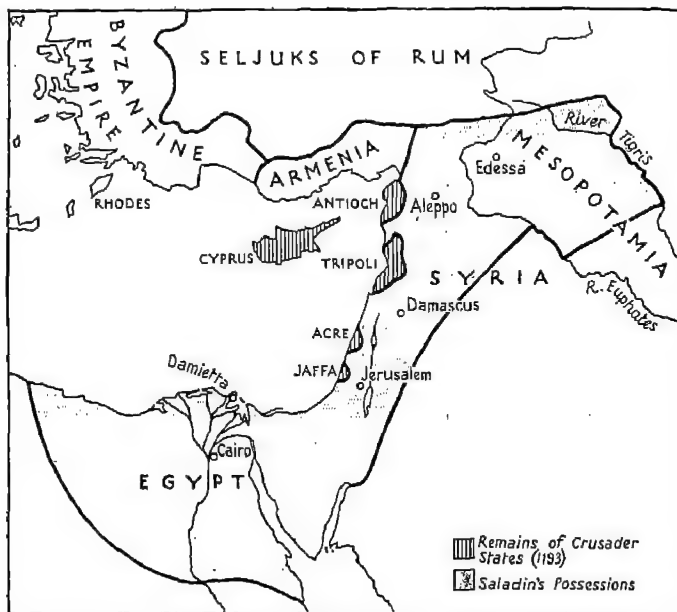
The Templars in England

[1] After the final failure of the Crusades in the thirteenth century, the main body of the Templars and the Knights of St. John retired to Cyprus. It was from there that the latter conquered the island of Rhodes, which they held for two centuries until expelled by the Turks (1522). After that they moved to Malta, which they held for nearly another three centuries, until the surrender of the island first to the French under Napoleon, and then to Nelson's fleet.

[2] King Stephen gave them Temple Cressing, in Essex; Queen Matilda (Stephen's wife, not his rival) gave them Temple Cowley, near Oxford, a place better known in modern times for the manufacture of motor-cars. There are other villages in England with similar associations, e.g. Temple Balsall (Warwickshire).

(ii) *The Third Crusade.*

The hero of the Third Crusade was Richard I of England. Before we can follow his exploits, we must trace the events which led to the revival of the Moslem[1] power, which in turn



SALADIN'S EMPIRE

Second Crusade 1147 caused the short and ill-fated Second Crusade, and the scarcely more successful Third Crusade.

The formation of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, the result of the First Crusade, had been made easier by the dismemberment of the Seljuk Empire. But there soon followed a Moslem revival under a succession of brilliant generals, one of whom took Edessa from the Christians. This news was the signal for the Second Crusade, prompted by the preaching of

[1] The Mohammedans called themselves Moslems, and their religion Islam (Submission); the Christians called them Saracens (Easterners).

St. Bernard (1147), which, however, was a series of disasters. The most brilliant of all the Moslem generals was Saladin, who (1171) became Sultan of Egypt, and then united Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia under his rule. Saladin was a great man, and a great ruler of men. Like the Crusaders he delighted in war against the 'infidel', but unlike most of them he enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for mercy in the moment of victory; he was the flower of Moslem chivalry. When he had united the Moslem states under him, he embarked on the great purpose of his life—his Holy War against the Christians.

Saladin

In pursuit of this aim Saladin invaded the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Christians, under their king, Guy de Lusignan, advanced to meet him, but Saladin destroyed their army at Hattin,[1] and took Jerusalem (1187). When the Moslem army entered the Holy City, soldiers kept order in the streets, a striking contrast to the disgraceful scenes of the First Crusade. The population was put to ransom, though many were spared by the mercy of Saladin.

Saladin takes Jerusalem, 1187

Next year Saladin set free King Guy and his lords, on their giving their knightly word that they would never bear arms against him again. They broke their oath; and King Guy immediately joined the Christian army at Tyre, which city was all that was left of his kingdom. He then began the siege of Acre, which lasted for two years (1189–91). By this time the leaders of European chivalry were ready to embark on the Third Crusade.

Siege of Acre 1189–91

The Fall of the Holy City! The news of this catastrophe had stirred all Christendom as it has seldom been stirred before or since; the clergy went into sackcloth, the laity into mourning. The Pope called upon all Christian princes to forgo their private quarrels and feudal wrangles, and take the Cross. The three greatest monarchs of Europe answered this call—the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (Red-Beard), Philip Augustus of France, and Henry II of England. In England Henry imposed, for his proposed Crusade, the 'Saladin Tithe' (1188). But Henry and Philip were at war with each other until Henry

The Third Crusade 1189–91

[1] The battle was fought on a hill called the Horns of Hattin—the very place, tradition said, where Jesus had preached the Sermon on the Mount . . . 'Blessed are the peacemakers'.

died (1189). His successor, Richard I, had already taken the Cross.

Frederick Barbarossa, an old man of seventy, was the first to start, but he was drowned in a river in Syria. On his death Philip of France and Richard of England became the chief leaders of the Crusade. The two men were a striking contrast.

Philip and Richard

Philip was a cool statesman; Richard a fiery man of action, and not always of wise action. Philip was naturally jealous of Richard's power, since the Angevin dominions engulfed half France; and the overbearing nature of Philip's mighty vassal did not help to smooth the path of friendship.

Character of Richard

Richard was the kind of man whom Englishmen have always admired—a man of giant strength, great athletic skill, superb physical courage, and reckless generosity. But he shared with his brother John—whom he resembled in no other way—one failing: he never measured the consequences of his actions, and his actions were almost always impetuous. With the exception of George I,[1] England has never had a king who took so little interest in her welfare; and the presence of this fiery warrior in the councils of the Crusaders almost counteracted the effect of his achievements on the battlefield.

Richard in Sicily

Philip and Richard left Marseilles together (1190), and sailed first to Sicily. There Richard soon showed his mettle in a quarrel with Tancred, the king of the island. Tancred had seized the lands of the widow of the last king, and she happened to be Richard's sister. Richard attacked the town of Messina and took it by storm, 'quicker than a priest could chant Matins'. Tancred returned the lady's lands; and the English forces left for Cyprus. Here again Richard quarrelled with the native king. This time he took not merely one town; he con-

In Cyprus

quered the whole island and deposed the king. At Cyprus, too, he celebrated his marriage to a Spanish princess, Berengaria

[1] The reason in both cases was much the same. Both Richard I and George I were foreigners, whose interests lay elsewhere than in England. The Holy Land, which attracted Richard, was no doubt a more inspiring place than Hanover, beloved of the unromantic George. But both the heroic Angevin and the gross German king left England to their ministers; and Hubert Walter ruled England for Richard, as Walpole ruled it for George.

of Navarre. Before doing so, he repudiated, in most insulting terms, his engagement to Alice, the French king's sister, an action which did not improve his relations with Philip. After this he left for the Holy Land, whither Philip had already departed.

When King Richard landed in Palestine (June 1191), the Crusaders lit fires in their camps 'for joy at his coming, . . . and the hearts of the Mussulmans were filled with fear'. The siege of Acre had already lasted two years, and the coming of Richard and Philip with their reinforcements turned the scale. A month after Richard's arrival Acre fell (1191), and the banner of the Cross once more floated over its walls. Even in the moment of victory, the Crusaders quarrelled. The banner of Leopold, Duke of Austria, which had been planted by the side of King Richard's, was torn down and thrown into a ditch by an English knight, probably by the king's command. Leopold dared not retaliate; but he left Palestine in disgust, nursing his revenge. Shortly afterwards Philip quarrelled with Richard and returned to France.

In Palestine 1191

Richard now began an offensive against Saladin. He pushed southward along the coast, won the battle of Arsuf—where he performed prodigies of valour—and took Jaffa (see map). He then turned eastward, intending to take Jerusalem, but the Syrian leaders were averse from an attack on the city in the winter. Sadly he turned back, and led his army to Ascalon (January 1192), which he found abandoned and dismantled by the Moslems. The following summer Richard marched once more on Jerusalem. But sickness in his army and lack of French co-operation wrecked his plans, and he was forced to turn back within sight of the Holy City. He returned to Acre.

Jaffa

Ascalon

Peace was made with Saladin at Ramleh (1192); Richard, on behalf of the Crusaders, recognized all Saladin's conquests, in return for which the Sultan allowed the Christians to keep Jaffa and to have free access to the Holy Sepulchre. So ended, in practical failure, the great effort of the Third Crusade. The next year Saladin died, triumphant over his enemies, and mourned by his people.

Treaty of Ramleh 1192

In spite of the peace of Ramleh, Richard warned Saladin that he hoped one day to return. When he sailed away he

looked back with pious eyes on the land behind him, and then broke into prayer: 'O Holy Land! To God do I entrust thee! May He, of His mercy, only grant me such span of life that, by His good will, I may bring thee aid! For it is my hope and purpose to aid thee at some future time.' His prayer was not granted. Other adventures befell him, but not in Palestine. On the way home he was captured in Austria, and imprisoned by the Duke whom he had offended at Acre. After his release his warlike nature soon led him into war in France, where he met his death.

Richard leaves Palestine

After the failure of the Third Crusade several further efforts were made against the Moslems, both in Egypt and Palestine, but none were successful. Regarded as an effort to free the Holy Land from the Moslems, the Crusades were obviously a failure. But though they did not promote the fraternal unity of Christendom, nevertheless they were a remarkable example of international organization; and if they failed in their main object, they had other enduring results.

Results of the Crusades

First, those two hundred years of travel and intercourse between Europe and Asia stimulated trade with the East. The towns which the Christians so long held in Palestine (Acre, Antioch, Tripoli) were means of communication between the East and the ports of Italy. The rise of Venice as the chief trading city of Europe may partly be traced to this cause, for the Crusades started her on her career of commercial monopoly in the Mediterranean. Through the fleets of Venice unheard-of luxuries both of food and clothing—velvet, muslin (from Mosul), and damask (from Damascus)—found their way into western homes, and orange trees and rose trees into western gardens. In this way the arts and crafts of the East—above all, the making of paper—penetrated into Europe.

Secondly, through this contact with the cultured East, the spirit of curiosity in unknown lands was aroused. Europe became less self-contained, but also less barbarous and isolated. The travels of the Venetian, Marco Polo—contemporary with Edward I—were one outcome of this spirit which, culminating in the great explorations of Columbus and others, revealed the whole world to European eyes. The Crusades had lifted the veil.

VII

JOHN AND HENRY III

1. *King John and the Pope*

THE character of King John has furnished many a moralist with an example of the fate of the evil-doer. He was the 'bad king', the 'false friend', and the 'wicked uncle' all combined; and his life ended in humiliation and disaster. The favourite son of Henry II, John had shown, long before he came to the throne, that he was faithless and untrustworthy. His ingratitude to his indulgent father shortened that monarch's life, while his treachery to his brother Richard was an ill omen for his own reign. John was unlucky in his antagonists. He quarrelled with the greatest Pope of the Middle Ages, Innocent III, and with the ablest monarch of his day, Philip Augustus, who was intent on uniting the provinces of France under a strong monarchy. Finally he lost his life in a struggle with his own people, which was in part provoked by his own crimes, and which called out all that was best and ablest in the nation against him. Yet some good and able men, like William the Marshal, were on his side. John was a clever man, but not a wise one. Cruel and pitiless in the execution of his immediate will, he lacked any conception of a far-seeing policy; nor was he ever capable of seeing whither his own wild courses were leading him. They eventually led him to his submission at the feet of the Pope's legate and to the sealing of the Great Charter at Runnymede.

John, 1199–1216

His character

John began his reign by a quarrel with his young nephew Arthur, son of his elder brother Geoffrey of Brittany. Arthur was already Duke of Brittany; he also claimed Anjou, Maine, and Touraine by right of inheritance and did homage for these to King Philip of France. John, meanwhile, had offended a powerful nobleman in Aquitaine, the Count de la Marche, by carrying off his affianced bride and marrying her himself. (He had just divorced his first wife, Avice of Gloucester, thus offending the influential Gloucester family in England.) Philip

Arthur of Brittany

took up the cause both of Arthur and of the Count de la Marche, and, with Arthur's help, invaded Normandy.

John had thus already raised up against himself a host of enemies. One of the least fortunate of these, Prince Arthur of Brittany, fell into his hands at the castle of Mirabeau (1203); and John, with characteristic devilishness, caused him to be murdered. Apart from this success, the war went against him. Philip rapidly conquered Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine. When (1204) King Richard's 'Saucy Castle' (Château Gaillard) on the Seine surrendered to the French king and Rouen capitulated, there was nothing of the Duchy of Normandy left to John—except the Channel Isles which have remained British to this day. John then returned to England after an absence of two years. In the south-west of France Poitou submitted to Philip; while Gascony, the main remnant of the large dowry which had been brought to Henry II by his wife, remained faithful to John. That was all that was left of the Angevin Empire. The loss, though humiliating at the time, was not really unfortunate. Now that the connexion (1066–1204) with Normandy was finally broken, the distinction in England between Norman baron and Saxon subject became somewhat less marked. Henceforth the Norman knights found their main interests in their adopted country, while Normandy, the home of their ancestors, gradually became to them a foreign land.

Murder of Arthur 1203

Loss of Normandy 1204

John, having lost the Norman-Angevin lands, next quarrelled with the Pope, Innocent III. Archbishop Hubert Walter having died (1205), the monks of Canterbury, without consulting either the bishops or the king, elected their sub-prior Reginald to the vacant see; they then sent Reginald to Rome for the Pope's confirmation. As soon as this news leaked out, the bishops protested, and appealed to Innocent against the election. While the Pope was engaged in hearing this appeal, John ordered the bishops and the resident monks at Canterbury to elect as archbishop his own nominee, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, and then sent to Rome to request Innocent to recognize the election. Naturally the Pope refused to accept a nomination made in this arbitrary manner. He listened, however, to the appeals of the monks and the bishops; then disallowed the elections of both Reginald and John de Gray, and

The Canterbury Election 1205

instead appointed Cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman of high repute then resident at the Papal Court. When he heard this news John burst into one of his violent fits of rage. He confiscated the estates of the monks of Canterbury and he refused to allow Cardinal Langton to set foot in England. But Innocent was not the man to go back on a course on which he had once embarked. When John proved obdurate, he laid the whole of England under an Interdict (1208), which shut the churches, suspended the Mass, and stopped the bells; baptisms and marriages were performed in the church porch, and even the dead were buried silently in unconsecrated ground. Indeed the life of the people seemed to stand still, for around the parish church—and the manor court—all village life in those days revolved.

The Interdict, 1208

In the following year (1209), John was excommunicated, that is, excluded from the sacraments and services of the Church. But the heedless king, confident in his strength and insolent in his defiance, lashed out at his enemies. Confiscation of their lands cowed many of the clergy, while the more courageous, who refused to serve the excommunicate king, were taken prisoner, tortured, and put to death. At the same time John hurled defiance at the barons, and at the slightest excuse he seized their castles, drove the owners into exile, and held their wives and children to ransom in the royal dungeons. John's quarrel with the barons arose from political causes (e.g. scutage[1] and foreign service), not from the ecclesiastical dispute, with which the barons were not at first concerned.

John excommunicated, 1209

John's defiance

The Pope, however, had one more card to play: he pronounced John deposed, and absolved the English people from their allegiance to him (1212). Philip of France eagerly accepted Innocent's command to depose John, and prepared to make war on him. John in reply made an alliance with the Emperor Otto IV against Philip who was their common enemy. For a time the lawless king maintained his defiance. He concentrated the English fyrd at Dover, and he even sent a fleet across the Channel to burn Dieppe. But a rebellion of the Welsh princes encouraged by French agents, the alliance of some of the barons with the King of Scots, and the obvious disaffection of his own

[1] See above, p. 128.

people, showed John that the game was up. With characteristic cunning and energy he suddenly reversed his tactics. He received Archbishop Langton. He promised to do homage later to the Pope when he found an opportunity of going to Rome. To Pandulf, the Papal Legate, he surrendered his crown (1213), and, before receiving it again, acknowledged that England was a fief of the Holy See, and that as the Pope's vassal he would pay an annual tribute to Rome—and indeed for some few years afterwards the Pope practically ruled England through his Legates. By this stroke John turned the tables on his adversaries for the time being. Those barons who were intriguing with the King of Scotland or the King of France could no longer claim that they were rightfully warring against an excommunicate king. On the contrary they were obviously traitors, waging war against their lawful sovereign, the acknowledged vassal, and now the ally, of the Head of Christendom.

His surrender to the Legate 1213

The Pope, in return for John's submission, ordered the French king to desist from his warlike preparations. But Philip had no intention of turning back now. He had allied himself with the brilliant young Frederick, King of Sicily, who had just come to Germany to claim the Imperial crown, the heritage of his house. John, on the other hand, was in league with the reigning Emperor, Otto, and sent an army under the Earl of Salisbury to Flanders. He himself went to Poitou, hoping to keep the French armies engaged there, while his ally attacked France from the east. But matters fell out otherwise. Salisbury joined forces with the Emperor Otto in Flanders, but, when the allied armies met the French at the battle of Bouvines (1214), they were heavily defeated, and Salisbury himself was taken prisoner. As a result of this action Otto lost the Imperial crown to Frederick II, and John lost all hope of recovering his former possessions in France. With difficulty he escaped from Poitou, and returned to England.

Philip's preparations

Bouvines 1214

In England he found the clergy, the barons, and the townspeople united against him. His losses in France had placed him in a momentarily weak position, of which his English enemies were not slow to take advantage. They found a leader in Stephen Langton, who produced the Charter granted by King Henry I, and read it privately to the assembled barons

English opposition to John

in St. Paul's Cathedral. This meant that Langton and the barons were determined to extract from England's worst king a promise to govern according to the recognized feudal customs of the realm. The result of their determination was the sealing of Magna Carta.

2. *Magna Carta*

At Easter, 1215, the barons met in arms at Brackley, and the king now realized that the townspeople, too, resented his misrule. London opened its gates to the baronial army under Robert Fitz Walter, who called himself 'Marshal of the Army of God and Holy Church'. John saw that resistance was useless: he agreed to meet the barons 'in the meadow which is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines', where Langton presented him with the document known as the Great Charter (15 June 1215).[1]

Magna Carta, 15 June 1215

The principle which underlies the Great Charter is that the king has no right to violate the law. And the law, as the barons understood it, was feudal custom regulating the relations between the king and his vassals. The Great Charter stated, in conservative terms, what were the customs of the land; it was also a treaty between the barons and the king, and it contained a clause to secure its execution.

To understand Magna Carta is to understand the Feudal Age. The first of its sixty-three clauses guaranteed that 'the English Church shall be free', i.e. enjoy her ancient liberties and be free from royal (though not papal) encroachments. A few clauses protected incidentally the villein, for it was to the lord's interest to protect his 'property' against the king. Many clauses dealt with the conditions under which the barons held

[1] 'JOHANNES, Dei gratia rex Angliae, dominus Hyberniae, dux Normanniae et Aquitanniae, comes Andegaviae, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, forestariis, vicecomitibus, praepositis, ministris, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, salutem.'

'John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, foresters, sheriffs, reeves, servants, and all bailiffs and his faithful people, greeting.' (The ordinary formula used by the king's chancery at the beginning of every Charter.)

The Liberties of the Barons

their land, and guaranteed to them the feudal 'liberties' which the Angevin kings had threatened. The *libertates* of the Charter did not mean 'liberty' in the modern sense, but the feudal 'liberties' or 'privileges' of the barons, such as the management of their own lands without interference from the king's judges and sheriffs. The ideal of the barons was feudal custom, as their fathers had known it, and not that efficient despotism of Henry II—abused by Richard and John for their own ends—which tended to supersede feudal custom and to equalize men in the eyes of the law.

It had been John's habit to resort to all kinds of unauthorized taxation to fill his treasury. The Charter bound him not to impose on his barons any 'scutage or aid except with the consent of the Common Council of our realm'; and to this Council were to be summoned the greater barons individually, and all tenants-in-chief through the sheriffs, as was the custom. Again, it had been John's practice to seize the lands of widows and heirs and only to restore the inheritance after the payment of an enormous fine: the Charter upheld the right of heirs to succeed freely to their inheritance, while a widow was promised that 'she shall have her marriage portion immediately and without obstruction' after the death of her husband. As for John's arbitrary seizure of baronial castles, 'if any one shall have been dispossessed or removed by us without legal judgement of his peers, from his land, castles . . . or his right, we will restore them to him immediately'.

Magna Carta has been hailed as the charter which guarantees the liberty of Englishmen. But there is nothing in it to suggest this later interpretation, which rests chiefly upon Clause 40—'To none will we sell, to none will we delay or deny right and justice'—and upon Clause 39, also dealing with justice—'No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed or banished or in any way destroyed . . . except by the legal judgement of his peers or by the law of the land.' This famous Clause 39 has nothing to do with trial by jury which (as we now mean it) came long after 1215; and by his 'peers' the baron meant his equals in rank rather than the upstart servants of the king. The 'freeman' who is guaranteed against oppression is the *liber homo* of feudal times, the 'free' holder

Clause 39

of land—not the 'free man' of our days, nor the villein of those days who remained tied to the lord and his land. The notion that all Englishmen are born free would scarcely have been intelligible to the authors of the Charter: they would as soon have thought of granting freedom to their horses and cattle as to their serfs or villeins, who then formed three-quarters of the population.[1]

The one revolutionary clause in Magna Carta was Clause 61 which attempted to bind the king, by something more than a promise, to observe the terms of the Charter. A special body of twenty-five barons was to be elected, 'who ought with all their power to observe, hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties which we have conceded to them'. When John heard this clause he exclaimed: 'They have given me five and twenty over-kings!'

To sum up, Magna Carta was mainly the charter of the barons: the great mass of the people, the villeins, had little interest in it. It contained nothing revolutionary, except the provision to create a controlling council of twenty-five barons. It did not guarantee 'liberty' to all Englishmen, because such an idea was unheard of in 1215. But in later ages, especially in the struggle against the Stuart kings—by which time every Englishman was a 'free man'—some of the clauses of the Charter were given a newer and wider meaning and invoked against the Crown. Magna Carta is vitally important in our history because it was the first attempt upon the part of the English people to bind their king to adhere, as his subjects were expected to do, to the rule of Law and the customs of the land. As such, it was not only a valuable precedent for later times, but it is also a landmark in the history of that liberty which has for long been and still is the main heritage of England.

The Charter in later history

John had no intention of keeping to the provisions of the Charter. Force had extracted from him the promises it contained, and force, he intended, should render the promises valueless at the earliest possible moment. His main hope lay

[1] Compare Richard II's attitude after the Peasants' Revolt (1381): 'Villeins ye are, and villeins ye shall remain.' See Chapter XI, Sect. 3 (ii).

in Rome; Innocent was now his ally and was prepared to support him. The Pope annulled the Great Charter as having been drawn up by rebels against their lawful sovereign, and called upon the barons to submit to the king's will; they prepared, however, for civil war. It was thus with a great show of right on his side that John awaited at Dover the army of mercenaries who, crusaders with the Papal blessing, were crossing the Channel to come to his aid. When this army arrived John advanced northwards, and ravaged the country as far as Berwick. Then he turned south and marched on London, the head-quarters of his enemies.

Innocent III supports John

The barons, meanwhile, had invited King Philip of France to invade England, and in reply the latter sent his son, the Dauphin Louis, with an army to join the rebel barons in London. John held the castles of the Thames—Windsor, Wallingford, Oxford—and had some hope of starving London into surrender. But his French mercenaries would not fight against the Dauphin, and began to desert. John fell back on the Welsh border. Then he made one final effort: he dashed across England and secured Lincoln. The issue was still uncertain. It looked as if the country would be plunged into ruinous civil war, when disaster finally overtook the king. He crossed the marshes of the Wash, and lost all his baggage in the quicksands, 'and now the heart that was obdurate against the sufferings of the people, that had been unmoved by the cries of the tortured . . . is broken by the loss of his treasure'.[1] The king fell ill of a fever, and entered Newark only to die (1216).

The Dauphin in England 1216

Death of John, 1216

His life was selfish, vain, and shifting; his death saved England from civil war, while the failure of his tyranny conferred benefits on his country of which he, who had so little grasp of principle, was not even aware.

3. *Henry III—Early Years*

Henry III 1216–72

Henry III was only nine years old when his father, King John, died. His kingdom was on the verge of dismemberment. The French invasion of England was proceeding; the Dauphin was in London claiming the crown, and some of the barons

[1] Stubbs.

were fighting for him. England was saved from this perilous situation by the efforts of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and of Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar. Now that John was dead, most of the baronial party rallied to Pembroke who defeated the French at Lincoln (1217). Hubert de Burgh and the men of the Cinque Ports scattered a French fleet off Sandwich in the Straits of Dover and shortly afterwards the Dauphin agreed to leave England.

Pembroke died two years later, and then for nearly a decade England was ruled by Hubert de Burgh. He re-issued the Great Charter in the king's name, and governed the country well during Henry's minority. But the quiet years before the king came of age (1227) were a deceptive prelude to a long and unquiet reign. He gave his confidence to his Poitevin tutor, Peter des Roches, who was made Bishop of Winchester. Under the bishop's influence, Henry dismissed his great Justiciar, and Hubert de Burgh was arrested and cast into prison (1232). It is said that the smith who was ordered to place chains on the fallen minister refused to do so: 'Is not he that most faithful Hubert who so often saved England from the devastation of the foreigners, and restored England to England?' Henry III now felt a free man, and prepared to govern England himself (1234–72).

Hubert de Burgh

His fall 1232

Henry III was unsuited by temperament to be the ruler of a turbulent country. He was a man of culture and refinement, and his artistic tastes were shown in his love of fine workmanship and fine architecture. Westminster Abbey, as we see it to-day, is largely his work, for he pulled down Edward the Confessor's Abbey in order to build in memory of that saintly king a larger and more magnificent shrine. But with all his culture and all his piety—for he was a devoted son of the Church—he was neither a strong man nor a successful king. Wilful and headstrong, he resented any interference with his wishes, yet he lacked the capacity to govern. He had little sense of finance, and he was a poor judge of men—two weaknesses which boded ill for his kingdom.

Character of Henry III

The resemblance between the first and the second builders of Westminster Abbey—Edward the Confessor and Henry III—is very marked. Both were pious men, both were set apart

from the common run of mankind by something fine and sensitive in their natures, both failed to impose their will on their rougher contemporaries. Above all, Henry III resembled the Confessor in his chief weakness—his preference for foreigners over Englishmen. The Poitevin followers of Peter des Roches accordingly crowded to his court: and, with his marriage to Eleanor of Provence (1236), came an invasion of Provençals and Savoyards. Queen Eleanor, whose sister had married St. Louis of France, also brought to England her Italian uncles, princes of the House of Savoy. These uncles throve on Henry's favour: Boniface of Savoy became Archbishop of Canterbury; William, Bishop of Winchester; Peter (whose name still lives in the Savoy in the Strand, where his palace once stood) became Earl of Richmond; while Thomas, another of the brethren, married a rich heiress through Henry's influence.

The Poitevins

The Savoyards

Apart from the favours and the riches which the king showered on his wife's relations and their followers, there was another grievance. The Pope, Gregory IX, was engaged in a struggle with the Emperor Frederick II; his legate, Otto, was ordered (1237) to raise money in England to provide the necessary funds for the war. Otto demanded a fifth of all clerical goods for the 'crusade' against the heretic Emperor. But the Pope went farther. He 'provided' three hundred Roman clergy with benefices in England, so that he might obtain the support of their families against Frederick. Few of those thus favoured ever visited the country from which they drew their incomes. Henry's attitude to all this may be gauged from his remark: 'I neither wish nor dare to oppose the Lord Pope in anything.' In fact he seemed content to have England administered as a province of the papal states and to 'be plundered without shame'.

Papal exactions

4. *Simon de Montfort*

On the death of Frederick II (1250), Pope Alexander IV offered the crown of Sicily, which Frederick II had held, to Henry's son, Edmund, for a considerable price; he also arranged—again at a price—for Henry's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to be crowned King of the Romans (that is, Emperor-elect). Neither of these high-sounding dignities was

of any value; Edmund never set foot in Sicily, and Richard, though he was crowned at Aachen, was never acknowledged in Germany.

Henry, meanwhile, was obliged to fight a campaign, which was wholly unsuccessful, against Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, who had assumed the title of Prince of Wales.[1] He returned from this enterprise to find the opposition hardening against him—an opposition which had found leaders. The clergy were resentful against the papal exactions and against aliens in the Church, and for these they blamed the king; they were led (till his death in 1253) by Grosseteste, the bold and scholarly Bishop of Lincoln. The barons and the knights also resented the king's extravagant enterprises and were ready to demand reforms. Their leader was Simon de Montfort, a French noble who was Earl of Leicester, and a friend, for a time, of Prince Edward. De Montfort was a man of considerable personality who at first had been just one of the king's foreign favourites. Henry had given him his own sister in marriage, and had made him governor of Gascony, which he saved for the English Crown. Then there was a quarrel, and de Montfort was dismissed from his Gascon appointment (1253). He had, thereupon, joined the ranks of the king's enemies.

Welsh campaign

Grosseteste

Simon de Montfort

The Council of Oxford[2] (1258), at which the barons appeared in arms, was the turning-point of Henry's reign. They at once demanded a redress of grievances from the king, including the immediate expulsion of the foreign favourites from the realm. They then set up a commission of twenty-four barons to put the kingdom in order. The commission drew up what was practically a new form of government (Provisions of Oxford, 1258). Fifteen barons, led by Simon de Montfort and Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, were to form a permanent council to control the whole action of the king's government—a legalized form of baronial oligarchy. Henry swore to abide by

Council of Oxford 1258

[1] See below, pp. 171–2.

[2] Sometimes wrongly called the 'Mad Parliament', though it was a baronial rather than a national Council. The manuscript of the chronicle from which the name comes originally read '*insigne* parliamentum', 'illustrious parliament'. This was altered by a later scribe to '*insane* parliamentum'.

the Provisions, but the next year he obtained an absolution from his oath from the Pope, Alexander IV. Both barons and king then agreed to submit the dispute to the arbitration of St. Louis of France. The French king decided (Mise of Amiens, 1264) in favour of Henry, and declared the Provisions of Oxford not binding. The result of this award was civil war in England, with de Montfort at the head of the rebel army.

Mise of Amiens 1264

Simon de Montfort defeated the king in a single campaign. The royal army lay at Lewes in Sussex, and at dawn on 14 May 1264 the troops of Earl Simon appeared on the hill outside the town. Prince Edward, the king's heir, and now Simon's most formidable antagonist, saw the earl's banner planted on the hill-side. He led his troops forward to take it, and found the banner guarded by a body of Londoners. The earl himself was not there. By this stratagem Simon enticed the prince out of the way; while Edward was pursuing the Londoners the earl advanced on Lewes. He routed the royal army, and captured three kings—the King of England, the 'King' of Sicily, and the 'King of the Romans'. When Edward returned he was obliged to surrender and was made a prisoner.

Lewes, 1264

Earl Simon in power

After this, Earl Simon ruled England for a year. His character is a puzzle to historians; to some he is a mere party leader, to others a statesman. His masterful temper could ill brook the interference of others. He forgot that he was but one among many barons—that he could not rule England like a dictator but needed the willing co-operation of his fellow barons. That he did not obtain it is evident from the fact that he summoned only twenty-three barons to his famous Parliament of 1265. But he made a bid for the support of the towns by summoning to this Parliament, along with the knights of the shires, two burgesses from every town which favoured his cause. For this action Simon has been called the founder of England's Parliament; but probably his chief concern was to gain a momentary advantage over the king's party by winning the support of the 'gentry' and burgesses outside the baronage.

His Parliament, 1265

The country was far from quiet during Simon's rule, for half the barons were in arms against him. 'When any one wished to defend his castle, he [Simon] laid waste everything

belonging to his neighbours, devastated fields and drove away cattle, for the defence of his castle; nor did the churches or cemeteries escape. The homes of the poor peasants, even to the straw of their beds, were torn up and taken'—which sounds ominously like one of Stephen's barons!

The next spring, a year after Lewes, Prince Edward escaped from his captors by outwitting them in a horse race. Edward and the Earl of Gloucester, the most influential baron of the March, now claimed to be true champions of good government—for Edward was wise enough to learn from Simon's tactics. The earl was as much a foreigner as Henry's former favourites, as his enemies pointed out. He had also lost much popularity by making an ally of Llewelyn, having forced his captive, King Henry, to make a treaty acknowledging Llewelyn as Prince of Wales, a title which the Welshman demanded as the price of his alliance (Treaty of Pipton, 1265). But Edward and Gloucester now had most of the Border country behind them. Simon sent for his son to raise troops in the south-eastern counties and London, and to pick up more men in the midlands *en route* for Kenilworth. **Escape of Prince Edward**

Young Simon's army, however, was scattered at Kenilworth by Edward's forces; the survivors took refuge in the Castle, which belonged to the earl. A few days later (4 August) Edward entrapped de Montfort's army in a curve of the river Avon at Evesham. Placing his best men across the isthmus of land, and sending another force to guard the bridge over the river, Edward had Simon at his mercy. The earl knew that the end had come; there was nothing left but to die fighting. In a few hours all was over. **Evesham 1265**

Earl Simon's popularity with his countrymen did not diminish with his death. Rather was he, like Becket, regarded by the people as a martyr who had died for the cause of freedom, as the following refrain of a contemporary song shows:

> Now low there lies, the flower of price,
> That knew so much of war,
> The Earl Montfort, whose luckless sort,
> The land shall long deplore.

He was the friend too of the Friars and of the learned Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, the fearless critic of papal abuses.

After this Prince Edward was master of the situation. His father retired from the active business of ruling, and the barons were content when they saw that the government would be in the capable hands of the prince. He promised to rule according to the Charter, and no more was heard of the controlling council of barons. Quiet succeeded storm, and Edward was able to leave England and go on a Crusade. While he was in the Holy Land his father died, after a reign of fifty-six years (1272).

Death of Henry III 1272



MEDIEVAL WARFARE. SOLDIERS PILLAGING A HOUSE

DATE SUMMARY: THE ANGEVINS

(1154–1272)

ENGLAND AND FRANCE	EUROPE AND THE EAST
HENRY II (1154–89)	
	1152–91 Emp. Frederick Barbarossa
1154 Henry of Anjou, King Becket Chancellor	
1162 Becket Archbishop	
1164 Constitution of Clarendon	
1166 Assize of Clarendon	
1164–70 Becket in exile	
1170 MURDER OF BECKET Strongbow in Ireland	
	1171 SALADIN Sultan of Egypt
1173–4 First Rebellion of Henry's sons	
	1187 Saladin takes Jerusalem
1188 Second Rebellion of Henry's sons Saladin Tithe	
RICHARD I (1189–99)	
	1189–91 Third Crusade
	1192 Treaty of Ramleh
	1193 Captivity of Richard
1194 Llewelyn the Great, Prince of Wales	
JOHN (1199–1216)	
	1198–1216 Innocent III Pope
1203 Murder of Arthur	
1204 Loss of Normandy	
1205 Canterbury Election	
1209 John excommunicated	
1213 John submits to the Pope	
1214 ⚔ Bouvines	
1215 MAGNA CARTA	
	1216 Dominican Order
HENRY III (1216–72)	
	1215–50 Emperor Frederick II
	1225 Birth of St. Thomas Aquinas
	1226 St. Francis *d.*
	1226–70 Louis IX of France (St. Louis)
1232 Fall of Hubert de Burgh	
1236 Henry *m.* Eleanor of Provence	
1240 Llewelyn the Great *d.*	
1254 Llewelyn II, Prince of Wales	
1258 Council of Oxford	
1264 ⚔ Lewes	
1265 Simon de Montfort's Parliament ⚔ Evesham	1265 Birth of Dante
1272 Henry III *d.*	

VIII

EDWARD I AND EDWARD II

1. *The Laws of Edward I*

ALTHOUGH de Montfort's rebellion had been crushed and the earl himself killed, the Barons' War had not been fought in vain. For the victor, Edward I, was one of those men who do not repeat mistakes. He had had experience as ruler of wide lands in Gascony, in Wales, in Ireland, as well as in England. In appearance Edward was a striking figure.

Edward I 1272–1307

'He was tall and well-built, so that, walking with other people, he stood out head and shoulders above them. . . . His head was round, the abiding-place of great wisdom and the special sanctuary of high counsel. His full round eyes were frank and dove-like when he was in happy mood, but in anger and when his lion heart was moved, they flashed fire and lighted up fiercely . . . He was long-shanked, like a horseman, and had a full throat and strong shoulders. . . . Ever straight as a palm, he always maintained the nimbleness of youth in riding; and by keeping under grossness of physique by continual hard work, he was hardly ever ill. No one had a keener wit in counsel, a greater fluency in speaking, coolness in danger, restraint in success, constancy in failure.'

Edward I, having lived through one civil war, did not intend to cause another. His government was no mere return either to the tyranny of foreigners as under Henry III or to the cruel despotism of John. Rather he saw that the king must make all classes of the country—barons, knights, townsfolk, clergy—willing co-operators in the business of government. His high standard of efficiency caused him to make frequent personal visits to all parts of the kingdom and of his duchy of Gascony. In England he showed a constant concern for the welfare of his subjects, especially of the lesser barons or knights and of the citizens of the towns he favoured or founded. He relied more and more, as Henry II had done, not on the greater barons, but on a small group of professional ministers and lawyers.

His aims

The most popular deed of Edward's reign was the expulsion of the Jews. Since the Conquest the Jews in England had been steadily increasing in numbers and influence. The source of their vast wealth was their keen business instinct and the practice of usury, or the lending of money at interest, which was, however, condemned by the Church[1] as a deadly sin. The medieval attitude towards usury is one of many indications of the wide gap between medieval and modern thought; for usury is one of the main planks on which the structure of modern capitalist society rests. But though Christians might not lend money at interest, they took advantage of the willingness of the Jews to lend to them. The English kings, especially Henry III, borrowed large sums from Jewish financiers. The people at large hated Jews with all the unreasoning hatred of the ignorant.[2] The most fantastic stories were believed about them. And periodically there were popular outbreaks against these unfortunate people, in which they suffered every kind of outrage, and in which many of them lost their lives. Edward I shared his subjects' disapproval of the Jews, and at the beginning of his reign he passed a law making usury illegal. Deprived of their means of livelihood, the Jews struggled on for a time, but at length Edward expelled[3] them from the kingdom (1290). He had discovered useful substitutes in the Italian merchant-bankers, who were less obnoxious to the religious and racial prejudices of the age.

The Jews

The legal enactments[4] of Edward I's reign have earned him the title of the English Justinian.[5] The Parliament of 1275, the first of his reign, was called upon to pass (in the First Statute of Westminster) the 'Great and Ancient Custom' as it was afterwards called, by which the king was provided with a regular income from a tax on the export of wool and leather. This remained a permanent source of revenue for the Crown.

First Statute of Westminster, 1275

[1] Based on St. Luke vi. 35, and other Scriptural passages.

[2] See Scott, *Ivanhoe*, chapter v.

[3] Jews were not re-admitted into England till Cromwell's time.

[4] Edward I's legislation (an account of which is here printed in small type) is mainly important from the strictly legal point of view.

[5] The Emperor Justinian (527–65), who partly restored the Roman Empire to its former glory, is chiefly remembered for his codification of the Roman law, which still forms the basis of modern law in most European countries. All legal students still study the 'Code of Justinian'.

Within a few months of his return to England from his Crusade (1274), Edward ordered an inquiry into the general condition of the counties. He sent out officials to ask of the juries in every county how many manors the king himself held and to find out at the same time what baronial 'liberties' existed which might hinder common justice and subvert the royal power. This inquiry was carried out hundred by hundred, and the juries' answers were set down in bulky documents known as the Hundred Rolls, which are a mine of information as to the conditions of the time. When the great inquiry was finished, Edward issued the Statute of Gloucester (1278), which aimed at making the system of law more uniform throughout the realm. It directed the justices, when next they made their *iter* or tour, to inquire by what right (*quo warranto*) the barons held their courts and exercised their privileges. By this Statute Edward I hoped to deprive the lords of all feudal rights for which they could not produce a royal charter. 'Here is my warrant,' said Earl Warenne, unsheathing a rusty sword as his title-deed; 'my ancestors won their lands with this sword: with my sword I will defend them against all usurpers.' This answer gives the key to the barons' attitude. Edward did not press the matter too far, but made the compromise that permanent possession since the time of Richard I was a sufficient answer to 'Quo warranto?'

Hundred Rolls

Statute of Gloucester 1278 (*Quo warranto*)

It was the turn of the Church next, which had grown rich by the bequests of pious benefactors. During the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, many grants of land were made to religious houses. But land left to the Church was a direct loss to the Crown. Other lands were subject to the usual feudal payments—to an inheritance tax as one holder succeeded another, or, if there were no heir, the land might revert or 'escheat' to the Crown. These things could not happen in the case of Church lands; for the Church was a corporation, and a corporation never dies. Such lands fell into mortmain—into the 'dead hand' of the Church, and so were a permanent loss to the royal revenue. By the Statute of Mortmain (1279) Edward prohibited the giving of land to any religious person or other person without the royal licence.[1] In other ways Edward I increased his control over the Church. He issued a writ, known from its opening words as *Circumspecte agatis*—'see that you act circumspectly'. This was addressed to his judges and gave a list of the cases that might be tried in the Church Courts.

Statute of Mortmain 1279

[1] In practice the new law did little to check the gifts of land to the Church, since the royal licence was easily obtained.

Edward also insisted, though Pope and Archbishop objected, that the clergy should make money grants to help to finance the king.

Next came encouragement for the growing class of merchants. The Statute of Acton Burnell (1283) laid down that a man might legally be imprisoned for debt, and made to forfeit his goods or even his land, thus for the first time enabling merchants to deal with dishonest debtors.

Statute of Acton Burnell, 1283

The First Statute of Winchester (1285) dealt with local disorders. Penalties were to be imposed on men who concealed felons —for 'robberies, murders, burnings, and thefts grew daily more numerous than they used to be'. All were to join in the 'Hue and Cry' for suspected criminals, and to keep 'Watch and Ward' over strangers and shut the town gates at night.

First Statute of Winchester 1285

One of the most important of Edward's land laws was the Second Statute of Westminster (1285). This Statute is usually known from its opening clause as *De donis conditionalibus* ('concerning conditional gifts'); and it established the system of 'entail', by which an owner of land could leave his estates to his eldest son on condition that the lands remained undivided for ever and passed from heir to heir, thus restricting a spendthrift holder from alienating the land. This Statute has affected the ownership of land in England to this day.[1] It has had great influence on English society by encouraging the growth of large estates instead of dividing them among several sons. The latter practice became customary in France and Germany, and it did much to foster the growth of a large 'noble class' in those countries.

Second Statute of Westminster, 1285

2. *Parliament*

Edward's famous statutes were presented at assemblies of the Great Council, and they generally bear the name of the town to which the Council was summoned. There were also several full 'Parliaments' in his reign (1275, 1295, &c.). Like most institutions which have grown great from small beginnings, the origins of Parliament are difficult to trace. The very word Parliament has changed its meaning: the old French word, *parlement*,[2] meant a parley, or talk, and it was

Edward I and Parliament

[1] Lord Birkenhead's Bill of 1925 at last put an end to the creation of new entails.

[2] There were French and Spanish Parliaments too (the Spanish—the

first applied to what happened when the assembly met, and not, as later, to the assembly itself.

In the thirteenth century the king was the most important, indeed the essential, element, in any Parliament; the barons, lay and spiritual, whom he summoned to meet him came next in importance, then, very much last, came the representatives of the Commons. In its origins Parliament began as the Great Council of the realm, in which the king took counsel and parleyed with the chief lords of the lands of England. In its fullest form the Great Council became known as *Curia Regis*, and this was (as has been seen)[1] the source and centre of government, of law and justice. There was no hard and fast rule as to who should be summoned to the Great Council. Just as only those wise men were summoned to the Witan whose wisdom was apparent to the Saxon king, so his Norman and Plantagenet successors pleased themselves whom they summoned. Naturally the king insisted on the attendance of all the royal officials and ministers; he also summoned, by special writ, some of the bishops, some of the abbots, and some of the earls and barons[2] —all of them lords of land.

The Barons in the Great Council

In Henry III's reign the word 'Parliament' began to be attached to this Great Council, and two or more representatives of the shires were occasionally summoned to it, as by John in 1213 and Henry III in 1254. It was already the custom for knights representing the shires to meet the king's officers in the shire courts: it was no great step to make them come to Westminster to meet the king in person. Then, as trade increased and towns grew, two citizens from the chief towns were summoned during the reign of Henry III, notably by Simon de Montfort to his Parliament of 1265. The normal function of these shire and town representatives was to grant an aid to the king. This was a less cumbrous, more businesslike procedure than separate negotiations with the counties and towns;

The 'Commons'

Cortes—was a hundred years older than ours); but from the sixteenth century they, unlike the English Parliament, came to naught.

[1] See above, pp. 99 and 125.

[2] The number of the barons varied; for example, Edward I summoned 41 barons to his Parliament of 1295 and 99 to that of 1300; Edward II summoned 90 in 1321 and only 52 in the following year.

and because the knights and citizens represented these communes—communities of shire and town—they came to be called the 'Commons'.

The meeting of the Great Council or Parliament became the most convenient means of granting money to the king for the business of governing the realm. This function belonged to all three estates—Clergy, Lords, and Commons. It is easy to understand that to be a shire representative was regarded as a burden rather than a privilege. Knights returning from Westminster had to bring back to their counties the unpopular news of fresh taxation; and in one instance two knights from Oxfordshire fled the country on the news of their election and summons to Parliament. But the time was to come when these representatives looked upon this burdensome duty in a different light—when they realized that by helping to control the king's purse they could also help to control the king's policy.

Taxation

But Parliament, like the Great Council, was not only a taxing machine. Having its source in *Curia Regis*, it was also a Court of Justice—as the words 'The High Court of Parliament' still remind us—though this function passed finally to the Lords alone. The king used to listen to many 'petitions' which the knights presented to him on behalf of their local people. If he granted them he said: 'Le roy le veult' (the king wills it); if not, he said: 'Le roy s'avisera' (the king will consider it)—which meant No!

The High Court of Parliament

Thus Parliament, whether it did or did not contain 'representatives', was an assembly summoned to fulfil many functions—a court of justice, a tax-granter, a debating council where national policy was discussed, and in course of time a legislative body. Under Edward III the summoning of the knights and citizens to take part in these various functions had become customary. In his time, too, the knights and citizens drew apart from the lords to form a separate 'House'—the House of Commons.

Various functions of Parliament

Historians have generally regarded the full Parliament of 1295 as the Model Parliament, though Edward I would have been surprised to know that it was the 'model' for future parliaments. 'What touches all should be approved by all'

The Model Parliament 1295

said the writs summoning the ecclesiastics to this parliament. The dangers, in 1295, were pressing enough. Edward had embarked on a war with Philip IV of France, consequent upon the French king's claim to and invasion of part of Gascony; and the French had also sacked and burnt Dover. Worse still, the king whom Edward had placed on the Scottish throne—John Balliol—had been practically deposed by his nobles, who that summer (1295) made an alliance with the King of France. The king therefore summoned to his Parliament of 1295 all classes of his subjects to provide funds to combat the national peril: barons lay and cleric, knights and citizens, and representatives of the clergy. All met on the same date and in the same place —Westminster Hall. But the result was somewhat disappointing. The barons and knights offered a tax of an eleventh on their goods, the clergy a tenth, and the towns a seventh. Edward expected more, but nevertheless he embarked on his two wars.

The Gascon campaign of 1295 was a failure; the English army narrowly escaped total destruction, and a French fleet was preparing to invade England. Next year a truce was made with Philip, leaving most of Gascony in French hands. But the Scottish campaign led to the victory of Dunbar (1296), the deposition of Balliol, and the temporary conquest of Scotland.[1]

Parliament at Salisbury 1297

Edward was not so fortunate when he assembled a Parliament of barons at Salisbury (1297), to place before them his proposals for a fresh campaign in France. One section of the baronage, which had long resented the growth of the royal power, found a leader in Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England. Edward demanded that Norfolk should lead an expedition to Gascony, while he himself went to Flanders. Taking advantage of a technical point which required the Earl Marshal to attend the king in person, Bigod refused to go to Gascony without him. Edward flew into a passion. 'By God, Sir Earl,' said he, making a pun on the earl's name, 'thou shalt either go or hang.' 'By God, Sir King,' replied Bigod coolly, 'I will neither go nor hang!' The Parliament broke up in disorder, and another Barons' War seemed imminent.

[1] See below, pp. 176–185.

Edward, however, made various unauthorized exactions to raise funds, and then sailed for Flanders. The baronial opposition at once made its protest felt. Edward of Carnarvon, the king's heir, a boy of thirteen, was forced to reissue and confirm (1297) the Great Charter of 1215—in that interval of eighty years Parliament itself had grown up and become the guardian of the Charter. This 'Confirmation' is noteworthy because it renounced certain recent unauthorized taxes. The king, at Ghent, ratified the action.[1]

During his last years Edward, now an old man, was lonely, and out of sympathy with the new generation; Scotland, too, was a perpetual source of anxiety. On his last attempt to subdue the northern kingdom Edward died (1307). To his less fortunate son he passed on both the problem of the Scots and the problem of the barons.

Edward I spoke English as well as French; he was the first king of England since the Conqueror to bear an English name; he was in spirit a thoroughly English king. He was a great man in a great era. He strengthened the national monarchy, the foundations of which had been laid by the Conqueror, his son Henry I, and his grandson Henry II. And though the French king drove him into war, Edward abandoned the dream of a revival of the Angevin Empire. Instead, he aimed at strengthening his hold on all parts of Britain by asserting against Wales and Scotland the rights given by feudal law to an overlord against rebellious vassals. However, his policy in Scotland was (after starting well) a complete failure, and his policy in Wales, Scotland, and France was more costly than the country could bear; he left the finances of England in chaos, and the troubles of his successor were not entirely due to Edward II's own shortcomings.

3. *The Conquest of Wales*

(i) *Early History.*

The English conquest of Wales, which is one of the outstanding events of the reign of Edward I, formed the final

[1] 'The lustre of Edward I's motto, "Keep troth" (*Pactum Serva*), is tarnished by his application to the Pope for absolution from his promises' made in the Confirmation of the Charters (Pollard).

stage of a long struggle which had lasted for eight centuries. A brief sketch of the history of Wales is necessary for an understanding of Edward's achievement.

The land which the Saxons called Wales, which means the land of the stranger, is called by its own people Cymru, or the land of comrades. After the collapse of the Roman government the Welsh for long held all the western parts of Britain, from Cumberland to Cornwall. But the absorption of Lancashire into the kingdom of Northumbria,[1] and of Somerset and Devon into the kingdom of Wessex,[2] for ever divided the ancient land of the Britons. Thenceforth Wales meant the country west of the Severn and Dee. Offa, King of Mercia, by building his famous Dyke from the Dee to the Wye, further limited the territory of the 'stranger'; but from his time to the Norman Conquest—a period of three centuries—no further Saxon advance into Wales was made.

Wales in Saxon times

Wales had never been a united country, nor were its people of one race: the character of the country is not conducive to union. There were several princes in early medieval Wales; inter-tribal war was common. Welsh society was based on the family group, and the wealth of the family consisted largely of sheep and cattle—movable property which was often an incentive to acts of violence on the part of greedy neighbours. Add to this the constant strife between Welsh and Saxon on the border, and we see that Wales in the Middle Ages was by no means so tranquil as its peaceful valleys to-day would suggest.

Disunion

But there is another side to the picture. The Welsh are a poetic race, and have never, even in their most barbarous days, been insensible to the beauty of their land. Their language had attained a settled literary form long before English achieved this distinction. Welsh literature, like the Norse sagas, was created by the songs of the 'bards', whose poems were repeated from one generation to another.

Language and song

With the coming of the Normans the fortunes of Wales changed. The Conqueror set up three great earldoms to control the Welsh March (border), centred at Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford. These places were the bases of attack on north

The Welsh March

[1] See above, p. 32. [2] See pp. 32 and 52.

Wales, mid-Wales, and south Wales respectively. In Rufus's time, the tide of conquest flowed more rapidly; all south and part of central Wales passed to the Normans. South Wales became studded with Norman castles;[1] while the foundation of Pembroke Castle (1090) marked the advance of the conquerors to the western sea. The Norman barons were notorious for their cruelty, even in that barbarous age. The ruins of castles, which are still to be seen every few miles in south Wales, shroud a history which is perhaps best forgotten. **Pembroke 1090**

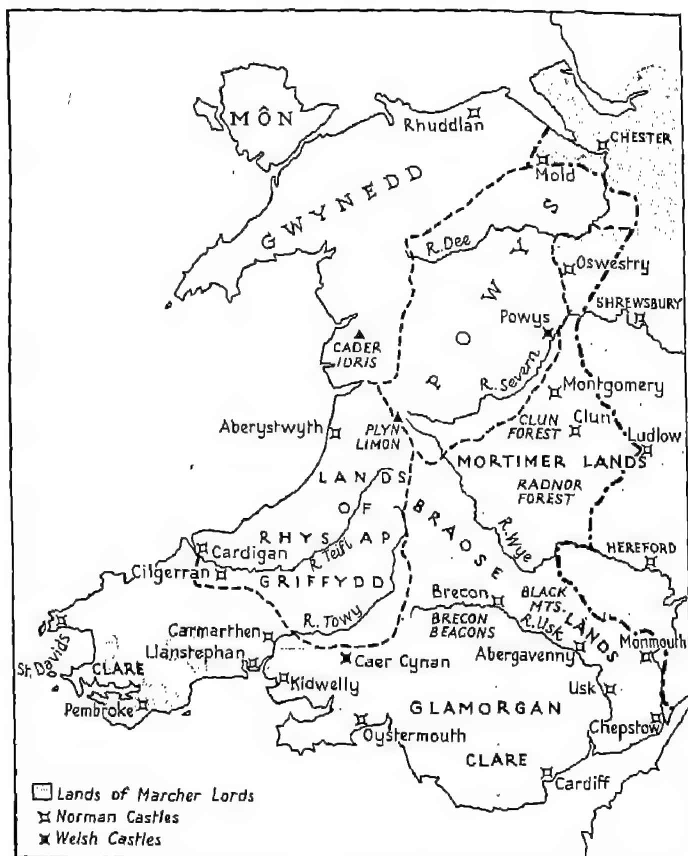
A rally of the Welsh of north Wales (or Gwynedd) expelled the Normans from Anglesey at the end of Rufus's reign. It was Gwynedd, with its stronghold of Snowdonia, that defied the invader longest, whereas in the south and central parts of the country the Normans had come to stay. By a chain of fortresses from Chepstow to Pembroke the Marcher lords held the south—Monmouth, Chepstow, Abergavenny, Usk, and Cardiff Castles all date from this period, although certain districts held out against the intruder.[2] In mid-Wales, or Powys, the Red Castle (Castel Coch), which the English called the Castle of the Pool (Welshpool), was the seat of independent Welsh princes. **Norman castles and Welsh strongholds**

The anarchy of England under Stephen allowed the Welsh to regain a good deal of what they had lost; and even Henry II was unable to prevent the union of south and central Wales under Rhys ap Gruffydd, or the Lord Rhys (a prince of the royal house of Deheubarth). Indeed, the dangerous success of the **The Lord Rhys**

[1] See Chapter IV, Appendix.

[2] The Vale of the Towy, for example, was a Welsh preserve, though three Norman castles—Carmarthen, Kidwelly, and Llanstephan—were built where the estuary of the Towy broadens into Carmarthen Bay. These fortresses were often taken and re-taken during the following two centuries of struggle. An attempt to extend the Norman dominion into Ceredigion (Cardiganshire) was not very successful; Cilgerran Castle, on the Teifi, was first built about 1110. About the same time the princes of the house of Powys were dispossessed of their lands in Ceredigion, which were given to Gilbert de Clare, a member of the famous Norman house which afterwards began the conquest of Ireland, and to him is attributed the founding of Cardigan and Aberystwyth Castles. It was the de Clares, too, who settled south Pembrokeshire with Flemish and English colonists; the district is still called 'Little England', and bears a non-Welsh character to this day.

de Clare family in Pembrokeshire made Henry glad to have a Welsh ally to keep these Norman upstarts in check, especially



WALES IN 1177

The de Clares when Richard de Clare (Strongbow) founded what threatened to be an independent Norman state in Ireland (1170). Henry, therefore, was content to let the Lord Rhys dominate Wales, as long as he kept the lesser princes in order.

The Lord Rhys (died 1197) was the last great native ruler of south Wales; after his time the national leadership passed to the north, Gwynedd. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, Prince of Gwynedd, called Llewelyn the Great, was the principal figure in Wales during his long reign of nearly half a century (1194–1240). He joined the baronial party against King John, and was allowed to occupy Shrewsbury. He made a treaty with the young Henry III at Worcester (1218), when the royal castles of Montgomery, Cardigan, and Carmarthen were given up to him. Llewelyn was now master of Wales. He was lord of Gwynedd, he had annexed Powys, while in south Wales the sons of the Lord Rhys acknowledged him as overlord. Thus, after a century and a half of Norman and Angevin conquest, Wales was unexpectedly united under a native ruler. The hopes of the Welsh rose high, and the bards sang the praises of Llewelyn, 'the eagle of men, that loves not to lie nor sleep'. He was an enlightened ruler, and a patron of the bards and of the monks. He tried to end the strife between Welsh and English by marrying his daughters to the most important Marcher lords; but the hopes of a more peaceful Wales were never realized until his own royal house had ended its stormy history. Llewelyn the Great died (1240) at Aberconway, in the Cistercian monastery which he had founded there.

Llewelyn the Great 1194–1240

His death was followed by a period of decline and disorder, during which the English regained Cardigan and Carmarthen. They also annexed (1247) the Four Cantreds (see map, p. 173)—the debatable land between the Conway and the Dee estuary.[1] From Deganwy Castle, near Llandudno, the English could look across at Snowdonia, where the grandsons of Llewelyn were once more confined to the ancient cradle of their house. Shortly afterwards (1254), Henry III created his son Edward, Earl of Chester, lord of the Four Cantreds and of Cardigan and Carmarthen.

Prince Edward Earl of Chester 1254

While the future conqueror of Wales thus began his first contact with the country, Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, grandson of Llewelyn the Great, began his reign as Prince of Gwynedd (1254–82). Taking advantage of the troubles of the Barons'

[1] The Four Cantreds, or Perveddwlad, which means the 'middle country'.

Llewelyn II 1254–82

War, Llewelyn successfully invaded the Four Cantreds, and reasserted his supremacy over Powys. Then, pushing his way southwards, as his grandfather had done, he reached Brecon, and in a short time won complete ascendancy in south Wales. He became the ally of Simon de Montfort, and after the latter's overthrow the English were obliged to acknowledge Llewelyn's conquests. By the Treaty of Montgomery (1267), he was confirmed in the title of Prince of Wales, which he had assumed. His dominions now extended as far south as the Brecon Beacons. 'Such a union', observed the chronicler, 'had never before been, since north and south had always been opposed.' At the accession of Edward I, Llewelyn occupied a prouder position than any Welsh prince since the Norman Conquest (see map opposite).

Treaty of Montgomery, 1267

(ii) *The Edwardian Conquest.*

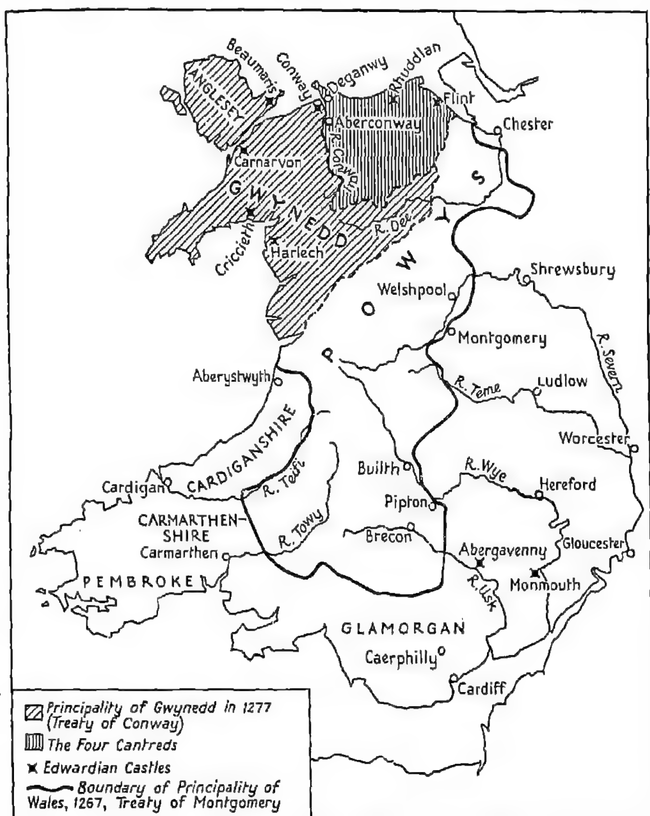
Llewelyn probably under-estimated the character of the new English king, for he began by refusing homage to Edward I as his overlord. Edward thereupon captured Llewelyn's betrothed wife, Eleanor, Simon de Montfort's daughter, and detained her in England. He next assembled the feudal army at Worcester (1276). As soon as the king appeared in Wales, the southern princes threw off their allegiance to Llewelyn, who found himself thrown back on the defences of his native Gwynedd. Edward proceeded to Chester, and slowly conquered the Four Cantreds, advancing from Rhuddlan to Deganwy. Llewelyn thought he would be able to prolong his resistance in Snowdonia. But he had reckoned without Edward's fleet from the Cinque Ports, which cut off Anglesey, the source of Llewelyn's corn supply, from the mainland. Seeing that he would be starved into surrender, Llewelyn came to terms. The Treaty of Conway (1277) reduced him to the position he had held thirty years before (see map). He had to give up all his conquests, and to pay a crushing indemnity. But he was allowed to marry Eleanor; and Edward himself attended the wedding at Worcester.

Edward I's First Welsh War, 1276–7

Treaty of Conway 1277

But the Welsh of the reconquered districts were unhappy under foreign rule. The English king did not keep his promise to respect their laws. Discontent grew; and at the end of five

years David, Llewelyn's restless brother, headed a revolt, in which Llewelyn himself was soon involved. David raised mid-



WALES UNDER LLEWELYN AP GRUFFYDD

Wales, and took Aberystwyth Castle, while Llewelyn crossed the Conway once more.

Edward now decided that the country must be finally conquered. Advancing from Rhuddlan, he repeated his tactics of five years before, and once again Llewelyn found himself blockaded in Snowdonia. Escaping this time, he made his

Second Welsh War 1282–3

way to the Wye Valley, hoping to be able to organize a counter-attack from the south against Edward's advance. But he was killed in a skirmish near Builth (December 1282). The last hopes of an independent Wales were now centred in his brother David, who prolonged the struggle for a few months; then he was betrayed and brought before Edward's Parliament at Shrewsbury (1283). There he was condemned to death as a traitor, and suffered the dreadful penalty which the law exacted. Edward's treatment of the last native Prince of Wales did not endear him to his Welsh subjects; in fact, says a Welsh historian, it 'aroused a hereditary hatred which it took centuries of national neighbourly actions and of wise legislation to efface'.

Death of Llewelyn 1282

and of David 1283

Edward's Castles

Meanwhile Edward's new castles were being built in north Wales—splendid fortresses, with their encircling walls flanked with towers, vastly superior to the simple structures of Norman days. Snowdonia was surrounded by a ring of these new fortresses,[1] the model of which was Caerphilly Castle[2] (Glamorgan), 'the most scientifically constructed castle in all Wales'.

Statute of Rhuddlan 1284

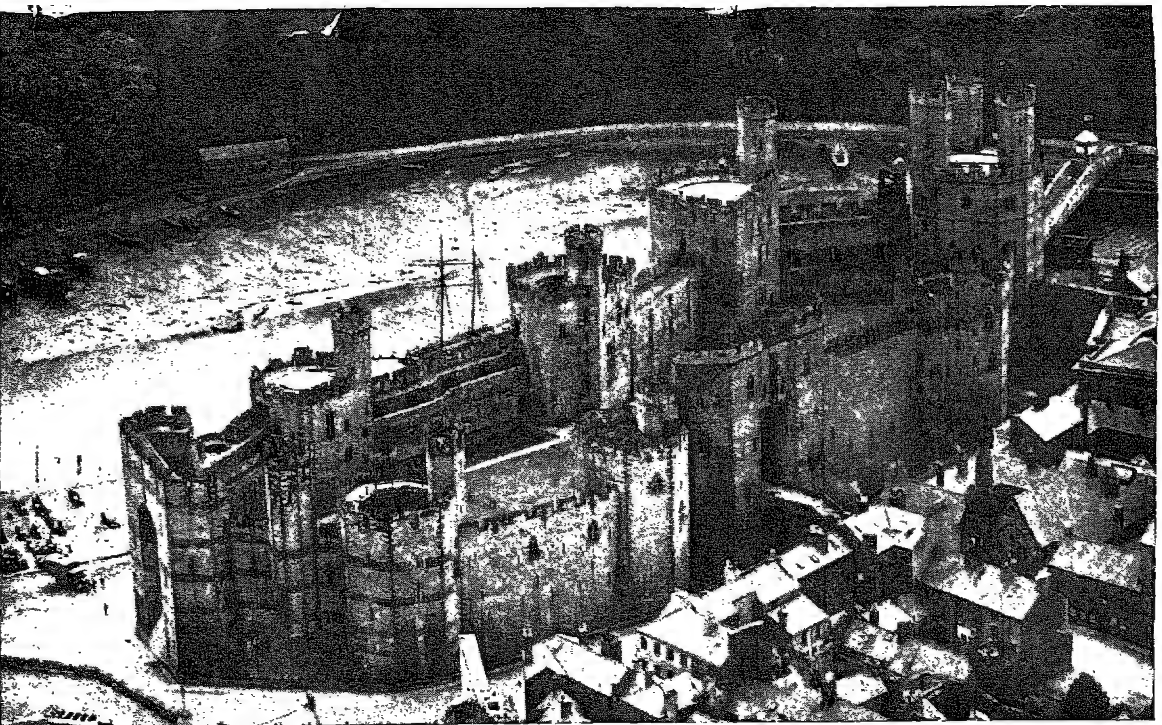
By the Statute of Rhuddlan (1284), Llewelyn's principality of Gwynedd was annexed to the Crown, and divided into the three shires of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth. In addition, Edward encouraged the settlement of Englishmen in new towns which he founded, or in old ones to which he gave charters, such as Carnarvon, Cardiff, Cardigan, and Welshpool. Apart from these changes, Wales was not much altered by Edward's conquest. He disturbed neither the Marcher lords in their strongholds, nor the native Welsh in the exercise of their ancient customs and laws. The Welsh language and literature continued to flourish, and Welsh nationality was preserved.

Prince of Wales, 1301

In 1301 Edward revived the title of Prince of Wales in the person of his heir, who had been born at Carnarvon, and who was by this time nearly seventeen years old. The lords of the

[1] Conway, Carnarvon, Criccieth, and Harlech. Beaumaris (on Anglesey) was not built until 1295, after Madog's revolt.

[2] Caerphilly had been built (1267) by Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester. Like Kenilworth, it was once surrounded by an artificially formed lake, which has, however, been drained in modern times.



EDWARD I'S CASTLES

AN AERIAL VIEW OF CARNARVON CASTLE

Marches and the Welsh princes were required to do homage to the prince instead of to the king. The revival of the title was a concession to Welsh feeling. The title was again revived by Edward III, whose eldest son, the Black Prince, was made Prince of Wales. The eldest son of the reigning king of England has always borne the title from that day to this.

Results of the Conquest

The war had been bitter, as all wars of conquest are; but the wise policy of Edward, in leaving the conquered country alone after its subjection, bore good fruit. The Welsh, once they had become reconciled to the final loss of their independence, became good subjects of the English kings; and it was the Welsh archers, with their long-bows, who turned the scale in the wars between England and France. But the country retained, and still retains, its separate character and language. The words of the old Welsh chief to King Henry II were prophetic:

> 'This nation, O king, may now, as in times of yore, be troubled and greatly weakened and destroyed by your and other power . . . but it can never be wholly subdued by the wrath of man, unless the wrath of God shall concur. Nor do I think that any other nation than this of Wales, or any other tongue, whatever may come to pass hereafter, shall in the day of severe searching before the Supreme Judge, answer for this corner of the earth.'

4. *Scotland and the War of Independence*

(i) *The Canmore Dynasty.*

Duncan and Macbeth

In a former Chapter[1], we saw how Scotland was at last united under the rule of Duncan I (1034–40). This king was Shakespeare's Duncan, who was murdered and succeeded by Macbeth. The usurper's life and reign were ended by his defeat at the hands of Malcolm III (Canmore), Duncan's son, whose reign (1057–93) was one of the most important in Scottish history. Malcolm founded a dynasty which ruled Scotland for two centuries. Its work was to create the Scottish nation out of the four peoples, widely differing in race and speech, which had been brought together under Duncan I.

Malcolm III 1057–93

Malcolm Canmore married an English wife, Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling[2], head of the royal Saxon house of England,

[1] Chapter III, sec. 7. [2] See table, p. 81.

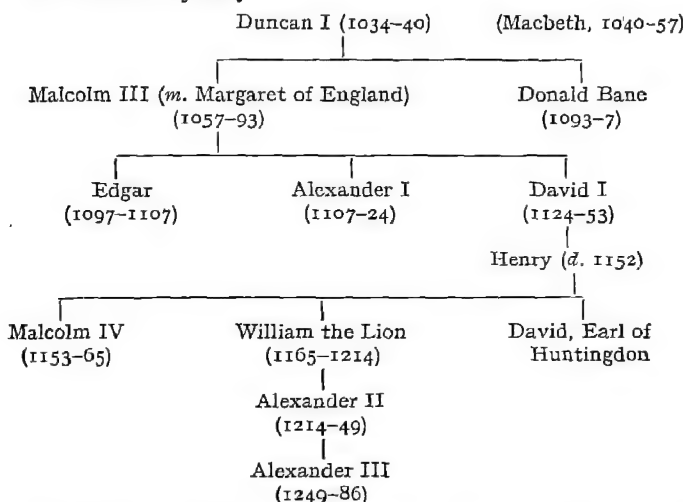
and claimant to the throne of Edward the Confessor. Queen Margaret was a remarkable woman. It was her object to introduce English customs into what she regarded as her husband's barbarous Celtic kingdom. Her six sons all bore English, not Scottish names. Three of them[1] reigned after their father, and carried on his and the queen's work.[2]

David I 1124–53

David I, the 'paragon of all his kin', who reigned for thirty years (1124–53), moulded Scotland upon an English model. He made lavish grants of land to the Norman barons who followed him from the court of his sister, the Queen of England (wife of Henry I). The old Scottish nobility also received charters making them lords of lands which they had hitherto held only by tribal custom. Thus gradually the feudal structure

Feudal System

[1] The Canmore Dynasty:



[2] There was a short revival, after the deaths of Malcolm and Margaret, of the native party which favoured the old Celtic customs; this revival is marked by the reign of Donald Bane (1093–7), Malcolm's brother. Aided by Norman soldiers from England, Edgar (1097–1107) overthrew Donald Bane. But the next king, Alexander I, ruled only over the Celts of the north; his younger brother, David, ruled Lothian and Strathclyde. This unhappy division was ended when David succeeded to the throne (1124), and the work of Queen Margaret was continued.

—king, landholder, serf—became as common in Scotland as in England. In another sphere, too, he completed what Queen Margaret had begun. He reorganized the Scottish Church, founded cathedrals and monasteries, endowed them lavishly, and filled them with English and Norman clergy.

The Norman system of land-holding, then, from David's time, became common throughout the Lowlands. In the western Highlands, however, a different system prevailed. There, among the Gaelic-speaking population, the Norman law and custom did not penetrate; instead, there was the organization of the clan.

Clan System

The basis of the clan system was not land-holding; it was rather the blood-tie, which bound all members of the clan together in a common loyalty to their chief. Fighting members of other clans was a frequent occupation of the Highlanders; nor was inter-clan warfare ever put down by the independent kings of Scotland. The clan system, with its customs, good and bad, endured till the eighteenth century.

David I took advantage of the chaotic state of England in Stephen's reign to push his southern boundary to the Tees; but his grandsons, Malcolm IV and William the Lion, who in turn succeeded him, were unable to hold the land he had gained. They were powerless against the superior forces of

William the Lion, 1165–1214

Henry II. William the Lion was captured by an English army at Alnwick and forced to do homage to Henry II for his whole kingdom (Treaty of Falaise, 1174).

Though Richard I released William the Lion from his homage in return for a sum of money (Treaty of Canterbury, 1189),[1] succeeding kings of England tried to enforce their claim to the overlordship of Scotland. Both John and Henry III revived

Alexander II and Alexander III

the claim, which Alexander II (1214–49) and Alexander III (1249–86) did their best to deny. Once the Pope intervened (1235) on behalf of Henry III and called upon Alexander III to do homage to Henry. He threatened to send a Legate to bring Alexander to reason, but the Scotsman frightened the visitor off. 'They be savage and uncivilized men who inhabit my land', he wrote, 'and thirst for human gore.' The question of homage remained unsettled.

The thirteenth century was a period of great prosperity in

[1] See above, p. 131.

Scotland. During it, the peace with England was rarely broken, and the kingdom was well administered during the long reigns of the two Alexanders. At the same time the age-long warfare with Norway was brought to a successful conclusion. Alexander III, by winning the battle of Largs (1263), forced the King of Norway to give up the Hebrides (1266) which the Norwegians had held since the days of their pirate Norse ancestors.[1]

Largs, 1263

Scotland, at the death of Alexander III, was a well-organized kingdom, depending on the power of the Crown to prevent the country from falling into feudal disorder. The victory over Norway had done much to foster national pride. But the Norwegian war was a war of offence: the long war with England, which had not yet begun, was a fight for freedom. When the menace of the English conquest appeared, the Scots were a people well capable of defending their national independence.

(ii) *Balliol, Wallace, Bruce.*

Death of Alexander III, 1286

The tragic death of Alexander III (1286) was an event as unexpected as it was fateful of consequences. An accident altered the history of Scotland. One March day Alexander rode out of Edinburgh to join his queen at Kinghorn over the water. He was ferried across the Forth to Inverkeithing—where the Forth Bridge now stands. Then, in the falling dusk, he began the ten-mile ride along the cliffs to Kinghorn. But ere he reached his journey's end, his horse stumbled and threw him over the cliff's edge. Anxious searchers went to the bottom of the cliff; but the king was dead when they found him.

The Maid of Norway

Alexander left his kingdom without a male heir. His daughter had married the King of Norway, and her daughter Margaret—the Maid of Norway—was proclaimed Queen of Scotland. The English king, Edward I, now suggested that the young queen should marry his son and heir, Edward, and so bring about the union of the two kingdoms. The Scots lords consented to the plan, and the details were arranged at the Treaty of Brigham (1290). But another tragedy intervened, postponing the union of Scotland and England for three

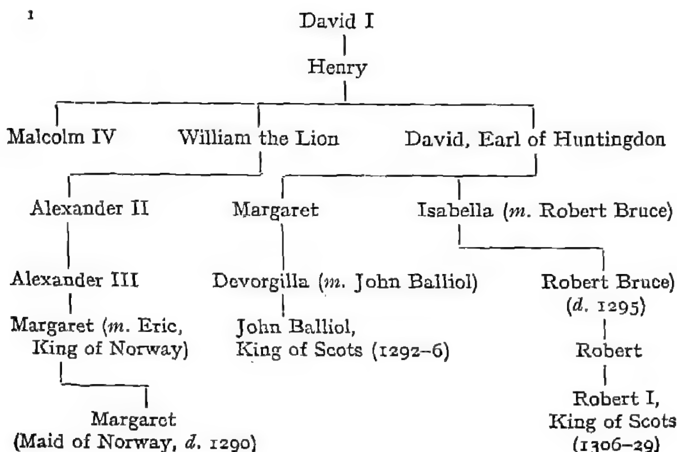
[1] The Orkneys and Shetlands remained under the kings of Norway till the fifteenth century; they were annexed by Scotland in 1472.

hundred years. The Maid sailed from Norway. But she never
Her death 1290 reached Scotland, where a throne and a husband awaited her. She died in the Orkneys, and Scotland was left without a sovereign (1290).

There were now no fewer than thirteen claimants to the vacant throne, and the country was threatened with civil war between the rival partisans. To avoid this calamity certain of the Scottish nobles, headed by the Bishop of St. Andrews, appealed to
Edward I called in Edward of England to decide between the claimants. Edward was anxious to do this, since it gave him the opportunity of asserting his right to the title of Lord Paramount of Scotland. The chief Scottish barons met him at Norham Castle, on the Tweed (1291), and admitted his title; they also agreed to abide by his decision with regard to the succession.

The two competitors with the best claims were John Balliol and Robert Bruce, both descended from daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, younger brother of William the Lion.[1] Edward ordered the case to be tried before a court consisting of 80 Scotsmen and 24 Englishmen, the latter including some of Edward's wisest lawyers. The court decided in favour of
John Balliol King, 1292 John Balliol, to whom Edward accordingly awarded the crown (1292).

1



The Scots probably regarded the act of homage which their new king performed to Edward I as nothing more than a formality; but Edward had other views. He asserted his right to hear appeals in England against the decisions of the Scottish courts; he even demanded that the Scottish king should attend the English Parliament. The last straw was the request for Scottish troops to take part in Edward's war in Gascony. The Scottish king was placed in an impossible position. If he resisted Edward he would call down the might of the stronger kingdom upon his people; if he did not, his people would rise against him for submitting to the hated foreigner. He chose the path of resistance, and made a treaty of alliance with France—an alliance that lasted till Tudor times—at the very moment when Edward was about to make war on that country (1295).

Edward's demands

After this act of defiance Edward crossed the Border, and took Berwick after a short siege. The cruel sack of this town was quite in accordance with the recognized rules of medieval warfare. But the ruin of one of the most flourishing ports of Britain, and the cold-blooded massacre of many of its defenceless citizens, could scarcely have endeared Edward to his Scottish subjects—as he now considered them. The Scots under Balliol tried to resist his advance, but Edward routed them at Dunbar (1296). He then deposed Balliol and annexed the kingdom. To mark his triumph he carried off the sacred coronation stone[1] from Scone and brought it to Westminster Abbey, where it now forms the base of the Coronation Chair. At the same time, and in a still meaner spirit, Edward caused all the Scottish records he could find to be taken to London. This was part of his settled policy of crushing Scottish national feeling. It is difficult to blame Scotsmen for their indignation at these acts. Edward had driven Balliol to defy him; then he had crushed the unfortunate king and annexed his kingdom. But, in doing so, he had aroused a spirit of resistance in the conquered country—a spirit which he could not overcome.

War

Dunbar 1296

The first man to give a lead to Scotland was William Wallace, a knight of Elderslie. Little is known of Wallace, who was an

Wallace

[1] Alleged to be the stone on which Jacob laid his head on the night of his dream of the Angels' Ladder.

obscure warrior receiving little support from the jealous, self-seeking nobles. Nevertheless he was the people's hero. 'He arises at his hour, like Jeanne d'Arc; like her, he wins a great victory; like her, he receives a sword from a saint; like her, his limbs are scattered by the English; like her, he awakens a people; he falls into obscurity, he is betrayed and slain' (Andrew Lang).

Stirling Bridge, 1297

Wallace's great victory was won at Stirling Bridge (1297). Earl Warenne, whom Edward had made governor of Scotland, was at the head of the English army. He approached Stirling from the south; Wallace's army lay across the river to the north. Many battles in history have been lost through the incompetence of generals: the battle of Stirling Bridge was one of them. The Forth at Stirling was crossed by a narrow bridge, over which it was only possible for men to advance in file, two by two. Warenne refused to take advantage of a ford not far away, and ordered the army to cross by the bridge. His men paid the penalty for this piece of stupidity. When about a third of the English army had crossed the river, Wallace's men swooped down on the bridge, and blocked the way to its further passage. The English who had crossed were massacred; those who remained on the south side fled on seeing the fate of their countrymen.

Falkirk 1298

Next year Edward marched into Scotland to avenge the defeat of Stirling Bridge. He routed Wallace's spearmen at the battle of Falkirk (1298), where the deadly aim of his Welsh and English bowmen won the day. Most of the Scottish nobles thereupon made peace with Edward; they were fearful of the fate of their southern lands, for many of them held estates in England. Among those who submitted to Edward was Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant of 1292 and destined to be King of Scotland.

Wallace captured 1305

Edward set up a council of regency, and expected the country to remain quiet. Wallace was an outlaw in hiding. Seven years passed by. Then Wallace was betrayed and delivered up to Edward (1305). He was tried as a traitor; he was condemned; he was hanged, drawn, and quartered; the quarters of his body were placed upon the gates of Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth. But the spirit, which is greater than the

body, lived after him; and the spirit of Wallace still inspired Scotland.

His successor, as leader of the people, came from an unexpected quarter. Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, had several times submitted to Edward; he seemed just an ordinary fortune-hunter, anxious to save his own skin and to be on the winning side. The year after Wallace's death he quarrelled with his cousin, Red Comyn, and stabbed him to death in a church at Dumfries. It was certainly an unpromising beginning to the career of a national leader. But, as Andrew Lang says, 'the murder of Comyn closed from Bruce the path of returning'. Now a murderer, he was an outlaw like Wallace. He consequently threw caution to the winds, and risked all on the highest stake. He proclaimed himself leader of the national resistance; he was hailed as king, and crowned at Scone (1306).

Robert Bruce

King of Scots, 1306

It was with great difficulty that King Robert maintained himself on his perilous throne, for he had many enemies at home as well as in England. But Fortune, which sometimes favours the reckless, came to his rescue at the beginning of his reign. King Edward, coming north to subdue the rebellious kingdom, fell ill at Burgh-on-Sands, and died within sight of Scotland (1307). With his great enemy dead, Bruce was free to deal with his native foes, for Edward II abandoned the projected invasion and returned home. For seven more years Bruce struggled with his enemies, the Scottish nobles who were jealous of his seizure of the crown, and who sided with the English. But at last all their castles fell save Stirling, the gateway to the Highlands.

Death of Edward I 1307

In the summer of 1314 Edward II raised an army from England, Wales, and Gascony, and invaded Scotland. He intended to defeat the Scottish army and then relieve Stirling. It was Midsummer Day when the two armies met two miles south of the castle. The Scots were on rising ground above the little stream called the Bannock Burn. The English were in a bad position, hemmed in by woods and marshes; their cavalry were too cramped to move against the Scottish spearmen, who inflicted great damage. Edward at last got his archers into position, hoping that they would repeat the slaughter of Falkirk. But Bruce's horsemen fell on their flanks

Bannockburn, 1314

and scattered them. Soon everything was in confusion; Edward lost all control of the battle. Great slaughter was inflicted on the English, and at last the king turned and fled, an example which was followed by many of his men. Thousands perished, trapped in the ravine through which the Bannock Burn flowed. Edward reached Dunbar and there took ship to Berwick; the attempt to conquer Scotland was abandoned.

The day of the 'bloody fauld' of Bannockburn was a proud one in Scottish memories.[1] On that day strong tyranny was overthrown by a despised and weaker foe, as Goliath fell before David. The Scots whom Bruce led would not sell their freedom

'for all the gold in warld that is'.

After Bannockburn the Scots were soon invading northern England, and the war was not ended till after Edward II's death. Peace was eventually made at Northampton (1328), when Edward III acknowledged Bruce as king, and abandoned all claims to his throne. Next year Bruce died (1329), leaving his kingdom to his infant son, David II (1329-71). In this reign Edward Balliol, John Balliol's son, invaded Scotland, and was assisted by an English army, which defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill, near Berwick (1333). The young David was sent to France for safety, but on the outbreak of the Anglo-French war, which proved to be the saving of Scotland, he returned home. In the year of Crecy (1346) he invaded England and was taken prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross; his country had to pay a heavy ransom for his release. When he died his throne passed to his sister's son, Robert Stuart[2]

Peace of Northampton, 1328

Halidon Hill, 1333

[1] Robert Burns, in the words which he puts into the mouth of Bruce before the battle, expresses the spirit of the struggle for independence:

Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled,
Scots, wham Bruce has aften led,
Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to victorie.

Now's the day, and now's the hour,
See the front o' battle lour!
See approach proud Edward's power—
Chains and slaverie!

[2] i.e. Robert the Steward. He was High Steward of Scotland.

(Robert II, 1371–90), the first of the ill-fated House of Stuart, which ruled Scotland for three hundred years. **The House of Stuart**

The history of Scotland for the rest of the medieval period is a tale of intrigue and strife, for the turbulent nobles often attacked the Stuart kings, and, indeed, murdered one of them (James I). On the Border, warfare never ceased, and every house on both sides was fortified. Burning farms and churches, ruined crops, cattle slaughtered or driven off—such were the common happenings in this region. Of all this nothing remains but the memory and the legends enshrined in the Border Ballads. **Border warfare**

5. *Edward II*

Edward II was a striking contrast to his father. The fierce old soldier—the Conqueror of Wales and the 'Hammer of the Scots'—was succeeded by a young man who had little taste for politics and none for war. Physically, Edward II was one of the finest of his race. Tall and strong, and a fine swimmer, he had his own ideas of physical exercise, and shocked the nobility by taking no interest in their favourite amusement of the tournament. He was fond of acting and games, and scandalized the Court by his partiality for such plebeian occupations as hedging and ditching, and working in a blacksmith's forge. **Edward II 1307–27**

But Edward II's worst fault in the eyes of the nobles was the favour he showed to his boyhood's friend, Peter of Gaveston, whom his father had exiled. He recalled Gaveston, made him his chief counsellor, and gave him the title of Earl of Cornwall. The barons resented the advancement of this upstart favourite, whose frivolous behaviour infuriated them—especially as he had a malicious tongue and gave them all nicknames. They demanded that he should be rebanished (1310). Edward consented for the moment, and then revoked the banishment. The lords replied by taking up arms, and Gaveston was obliged to take refuge in Scarborough Castle. There he surrendered to his enemies on receiving the promise that his life would be spared. He was handed over to the care of the Earl of Pembroke. But in Oxfordshire he was seized by Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whom he had called the Black Dog of Arden. **Piers Gaveston**

The Black Dog now showed that he could bite. Gaveston was brought before an informal—and quite illegal—tribunal in the Great Hall of Warwick Castle; he was condemned to death, and hurried to execution on Blacklow Hill, outside Warwick.

His death 1312

Edward never forgave the murderers of Gaveston, who now became the rulers of England. The year before Gaveston's death a commission of reform, calling themselves Lords Ordainers, had drawn up a set of ordinances or rules to guide the king in the government of the country. Besides the usual formula that the Great Charter should be observed, the Ordinances laid down that the king could not leave the country or go to war, or appoint his ministers, without the consent of the barons in Parliament.

The Lords Ordainers 1311–22

The leader of the victorious barons was the king's cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, who had recently succeeded also to the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury on the death of his father-in-law. Earl Thomas's great estates, together with his royal blood—he was the son of Edmund, 'King of Sicily', Edward I's brother—marked him out for leadership. But he was devoid of all statesmanlike qualities. He was sulky and ill-tempered, and his idea of statecraft was to oppose the king's power and uphold the authority of the baronage at all costs.

Thomas of Lancaster

Meanwhile Edward's prestige suffered a severe blow by the rout of his army at Bannockburn (1314), which secured the independence of Scotland. Having lost Scotland, Edward showed little taste or capacity for governing England in conjunction with a baronial council. His distrust of his cousin, Lancaster, grew more marked. At last he took two new favourites into his confidence—the Despencers, father and son—who supported him in his efforts to get rid of Lancaster. The Lancastrian party took up arms again, but were defeated at Boroughbridge in a campaign in Yorkshire, and Thomas of Lancaster was beheaded outside his own castle of Pontefract (1322). The other baronial leaders were hanged.

Execution of Lancaster 1322

A Parliament held at York (1322) registered the triumph of the king. The Ordinances were revoked, and the king made free from control by baronial committees. But at the same time an important constitutional principle was asserted—that

affairs of State should be treated as 'heretofore accustomed', in Parliament 'by the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons and the Commonalty of the realm'.

The rule of the king and the Despencers lasted five years: then it was overthrown by a blow from an unexpected quarter. Edward's queen, Isabella, was sent to negotiate a treaty with her brother, the King of France. But, having arrived on the Continent, she refused to come back. Instead she went to Flanders where, assisted by her lover, Lord Mortimer, she began to intrigue against her husband. Mortimer and Isabella landed in England (1326), and were joined by a large section of the baronage. The Despencers were caught and hanged. Edward fled to Devonshire, took ship for Lundy Island, but was driven ashore on to the Welsh coast and there captured.

The Despencers

Isabella and Mortimer

From Wales Edward II was brought to Kenilworth Castle, where the deep dungeon in which the captive king was imprisoned can still be seen. There a deputation of lords waited on the unhappy prisoner and besought him to resign his crown in favour of his young son (aged 13). He consented to do so, and Parliament was summoned to approve the change. Isabella and Mortimer ruled in the name of the young Edward III, while Edward II was taken from Kenilworth to Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire, where he was soon afterwards murdered (1327).

Deposition of Edward II, 1327

His murder

Treachery and murder stain the pages of English annals during Edward II's reign and set up an ominous precedent for future ages. The murder or execution of the principal actors in the drama—Gaveston, Thomas of Lancaster, the Despencers, the king, and (in the next reign) his supplanter Mortimer—showed political strife in its grimmest colours, and indeed anticipated the equally murderous struggles of the Wars of the Roses. But throughout this tale of strife and bloodshed there is one point worth stressing. Though neither side took any account of national interests, yet whichever side was victorious at the moment appealed to Parliament to confirm its triumph. Parliament passed the Ordinances of 1311, and Parliament repealed the same Ordinances in 1322; Parliament consented to the deposition of Edward II and acclaimed the accession of Edward III. It may be said that all Parliament

Influence of Parliament

had to do in all these instances was to recognize the *fait accompli*; but nevertheless such recognition was important, and the influence of Parliament steadily increased. Thus the instrument which was to shape England's future grew in strength amidst the struggles of rival factions.



The growth of Parliament. The King and his Court (*Curia Regis*), the Barons on his right, churchmen and clerks on his left. An illustration in the manuscript of a thirteenth-century law-book.

IX

THE ZENITH OF MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION

1. *The Church in the Middle Ages*

THE twelfth and thirteenth centuries may be taken as the zenith of the Middle Ages, though of course the zenith of an age cannot be defined within exact dates. It was in those centuries that medieval civilization bore its finest fruits, and that the Church reached the height of its influence. In the most important countries of Europe the teaching of the Catholic (i.e. universal) Church[1] was accepted with unquestioning faith; and its system endured, without serious challenge, for a thousand years—from Gregory the Great to the Reformation.

Influence of the Church

It would be difficult to over-estimate the influence which the Church exercised over men's minds in those Ages of Faith. This influence made itself felt, first and foremost, through the cure of souls, and through the church services conducted in the Latin language throughout the Christendom over which the Pope at Rome was the spiritual ruler acknowledged by all. The Church held the monopoly both of learning and of teaching; few laymen could read or write. And through the Church a career was freely open to the talented, however low-born: the great Hildebrand himself came of humble stock, and Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and Chancellor to Richard I, was said to be the son of a runaway French serf. The Church had its own Courts, to deal not only with erring clerics, but with cases (e.g. the marriage law) which affected most closely the daily lives and the morals of the people.

The Church claimed to be super-national or universal, whereas the State was a national institution; and so conflicts arose between Church and State. In the case of Pope and Emperor, conflict often led to war. The struggle lasted two centuries (1073–1250)—from the time of Gregory VII to the time of Innocent IV. In English history, we have the

Conflicts between Church and State

[1] The Greek or Orthodox Church was established in the Eastern or Byzantine Empire.

more or less friendly controversy between Gregory VII and William I, and the more serious controversies between Anselm and Henry I, Becket and Henry II, Innocent III and John.[1]

Innocent III, 1198–1216

Under Innocent III, the strongest Pope of the Middle Ages, it seemed as if Gregory's ideal was about to be realized; for Innocent hoped that even the Emperor would become—like John of England—his obedient servant. But Innocent III died (1216) the year after his young pupil, Frederick II, became Emperor. He was thus spared a great disillusionment, for Frederick proved to be one of the worst enemies the Papacy had ever known. Gregory IX, who excommunicated him several times, compared him to the Beast in the Book of Revelation. Frederick II was the last of the great medieval Emperors, and to his contemporaries he was known as *stupor mundi*, the 'wonder of the world'. After his time the internal divisions of Germany weakened the Empire beyond recovery; and with him disappeared for ever the hope of making the German Kaisers[2] the successors of the Caesars of old Rome.

The Crusades were another expression of the Papal hopes of uniting Christendom—hopes that were doomed to disappointment. Even the greatest of Popes, Innocent III, was unable at the height of his power to inspire the knights of Christian

St. Louis

Europe with the zeal of the earlier Crusaders. St. Louis of France was the hero of later Crusades (1248 and 1270). Though he achieved no lasting result, he fought in Egypt and in Tunis, where he died of the plague. This saintly king, the meekest

Last of the Crusaders

and most heroic of medieval knights, was the last of the Crusaders. Soon afterwards the Moslems swooped down upon Acre and took it (1291), and with its fall disappeared the last vestige of Christian rule in the Holy Land. Nor was Jerusalem again in Christian hands till in the Great War it fell to the British army under General Allenby (1917).

The term 'Crusade' came to be applied to all kinds of

[1] See Chapter IV, Sect. 3 (William I), and Sect. 4 (Henry I); Chapter VI, Sect. 2 (Henry II), and Chapter VII, Sect. 1 (John).

[2] German, *Kaiser* (and Russian, *Czar*), from the Latin, *Caesar*; English, *Emperor*, from the Latin, *Imperator*. It was left till the last quarter of the nineteenth century, to Bismarck, to make Germany itself at last a united nation.

expeditions in which the Popes were concerned—war against heathen lands; against John of England before he submitted to the Holy See, and against the Emperor Frederick II; and the war against the Albigensian heretics in the south of France, which was conducted with relentless fury. The Church would not tolerate the existence of heresy, and the Court of the Holy Inquisition had been set up to root it out.

Crusade against Heresy

If persecution is the dark side of the later medieval picture, the life of St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), on the other hand, shows the medieval Church at its brightest and best. The Friars[1] brought the Church into closer touch with the common people than it had been for centuries. They were largely engaged in teaching, and they played an important part in the early history of the Universities which arose in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—Bologna, Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge. The Universities remain one of the most important legacies of the Middle Ages to modern times.

Medieval Institutions

The Gothic cathedrals, churches, and abbeys, which covered Christendom, were built in the later medieval age. It was in the thirteenth century that two of the noblest buildings in England were raised, Westminster Abbey and Salisbury Cathedral. Medieval buildings, one of the chief glories of the Ages of Faith, remain to-day the visible witnesses of their ideals.

Lastly, the Guilds of the boroughs, in common with all medieval institutions, had a strong religious side. Like the humble township or manor from which it originated, the borough in England developed under the control of its lord (king, baron, bishop, or abbot), and its development foreshadowed the time when the trader would become a more important person than the armed knight. The guild, the university, the monastery, knighthood—binding townsman to townsman, student to student, monk to monk, knight to knight—all are examples of the fraternities or corporate bodies of the Middle Ages. And the common link of all was the Church.

2. *Schools and Universities*

Education in medieval times was entirely dependent on the Church. The monks kept schools for the training of their

Schools

[1] See next two sections.

own novices, while the secular clergy instructed boys, not intended for the cloister, in schools attached to cathedrals and to collegiate churches (i.e. churches served by colleges of clergy).[1] After the Conquest, many more schools were founded, especially by the bounty of the Guilds (see Sect. 4 of this chapter). From the fact that Latin grammar was the principal subject of instruction, many of the medieval schools became known as Grammar Schools. Besides grammar, boys were taught rhetoric (the art of effective speaking) and logic (the science of reasoning); the three subjects formed what was called the Trivium. A more advanced course of study, called the Quadrivium, included arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The main teaching in medieval schools consisted in a thorough grounding in Latin grammar, as a preparation for further study, for all the books available were written in Latin, and written communication between educated men was generally carried on in this language. This system had one great advantage—there were no international barriers of language, as there are at the present day; and the scholar was as much at home in Paris or Rome as he was in York or Winchester.

Latin Grammar

It was during the twelfth century that the earliest universities were founded. A university was not, in its early days, very different from an ordinary school. It arose in the usual way around some church or cathedral, its teachers being clergy, and its pupils boys of any age from twelve to twenty. The term 'university' (i.e., a corporation or guild) was first used in connexion with schools which drew their students from all parts, and not just from one particular locality. Among the earliest of such universities were Paris, famous for its schools of philosophy and theology, Bologna, for the teaching of law, and Salerno, for medicine. A university was simply a learned

Universities

[1] The oldest school in England is probably that founded by St. Augustine himself and attached to the Cathedral at Canterbury; other early foundations were those at Rochester, St. Paul's (London), and York. Sherborne School was probably founded by St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne (*c.* 705). All the Saxon cathedrals—e.g. Hereford, Worcester, Winchester—had schools attached to them. Similarly at places—e.g. Shrewsbury and Warwick—where there were collegiate churches, there were also schools.

guild; it was an association of those engaged in teaching or learning. Like the trade guilds, the universities bound their members by a set of rules, afterwards known as the Statutes of the University.

The University of Oxford was founded during the Becket controversy. The King of France favoured Becket, and Henry II issued an order (1167) that all English scholars studying in France should return home. This order, it is believed, was followed by a sudden migration of English-speaking scholars from Paris to Oxford, and it was from this nucleus that the university began. Cambridge was founded in a similar way by a migration (1209) of scholars from Oxford.[1]

Oxford and Cambridge

Oxford, like Paris, developed a system of separate colleges within the university. At first it was customary for students to live together in buildings called halls. Many Oxford and Cambridge colleges have developed from halls—for example, University College, Oxford, began as Great University Hall (about 1250). But Walter de Merton, Chancellor of England, was the first founder of a real college, with statutes enjoining collegiate discipline. Merton College, Oxford (founded *c.* 1264), was built on the now familiar pattern of a quadrangle, since copied by nearly all colleges and many schools.[2]

Colleges

Life in a medieval university was distinctly unruly, since it was long before the authorities made disciplinary rules for the students. The boys and young men who went up to Oxford or Cambridge lived in rough style, worked, played, and fought, got into difficulties with tradesmen, and went home in the Long Vacation to help gather in the harvest. The traditional peace of Oxford was far to seek in a thirteenth-century university.

[1] This was during the troubles of John's reign. There was a riot at Oxford in which a townsman was killed by a clerk, and the townsmen retaliated by putting two or three clerks to death. John, who was under sentence of excommunication at the time, lifted no finger to protect the scholars, many of whom migrated in alarm to Cambridge.

[2] About the same time Balliol College was founded (*c.* 1263) by Sir John de Balliol, father of the future King of Scots. Peterhouse, Cambridge, the first college in the sister university, was founded in 1284; many other colleges at both universities date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. New College, Oxford (1379), the largest of the medieval Oxford colleges, was designed by William of Wykeham, who at the same time founded his famous school at Winchester.

University life

'In the stead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a medieval town. Thousands of boys, huddled in bare lodging houses, clustered round teachers as poor as themselves, drinking, quarrelling, dicing, begging at the corners of the streets' (Green). The students' life was hard. Their bedroom and study walls were bare. In the halls, a hole in the roof let out the smoke—or some of it—from the brazier.

Teaching was given, then as now, by means of lectures by the Masters of Arts to the students. The fundamental point of the teaching was the infallibility of Aristotle—*Absurdum est dicere Aristotelem errasse*—and his philosophy was interwoven with the teaching of the Christian Fathers by the subtle arguments of the Dominican Friars, especially the famous St. Thomas Aquinas (1226–74), who taught successively at Paris, Rome, and Bologna.

3. *The Friars*

The coming of the Friars[1] caused a tremendous stir in the everyday life of the thirteenth century. The first Order of

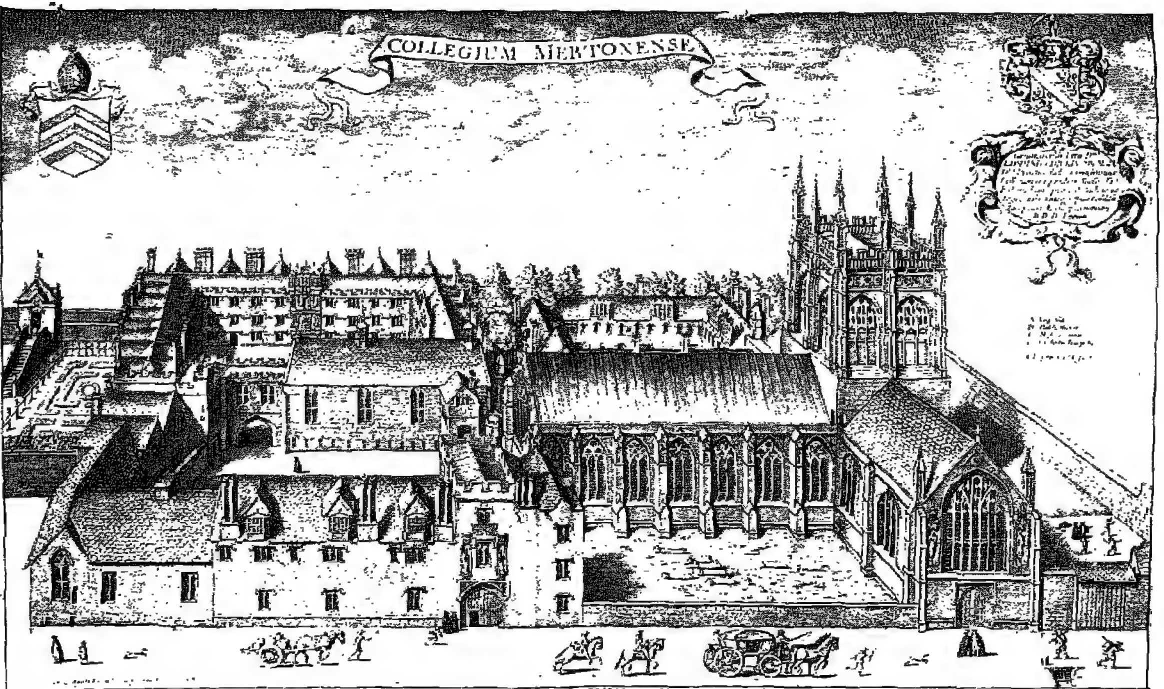
The Dominicans, 1216

Friars was founded (1216) by St. Dominic, for the purpose of preaching against heresy in the south of France. From the first the Dominicans put study in the forefront of their training, and they made a great impression on the growing universities.

St Francis of Assisi

The Franciscan Friars were called after their founder, St. Francis of Assisi, the most lovable figure in the whole Christian calendar. He was the son of a well-to-do Italian merchant, and, until he was twenty-one, he devoted himself to a life of pleasure. Then, during an illness, he was troubled by strange dreams. 'Sell all that thou hast and distribute unto the poor' —so Christ had spoken to the rich young man of the Gospel story; so, also, Francis believed, the voice of Christ spoke to him. He cast aside his rich clothes, appeared in rags, joined a troop of beggars, and attended the victims of leprosy in their dreadful hospital. Soon, as the fame of his piety spread, he was joined by disciples, who, like him, began to preach and work among the poorest of the people. St. Francis, as he said, loved the Lady Poverty; he loved his fellow men, and all God's

[1] i.e. *Fratres*, brothers.



THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITIES

A seventeenth-century engraving of the buildings of Merton College, Oxford. The chapel was built at the end of the thirteenth century and the quadrangle beyond it (to the South) soon afterwards, but the other buildings later, as the College grew.

creatures, down to the swallows that interrupted his sermon by their chattering. He discarded all those things which most people spend their lives in seeking; and his followers were forbidden to own property of any kind. They begged their way from place to place—hence their name of mendicant or begging Friars. Before St. Francis was called away by his 'Sister Death', he had started a spiritual revolution in the world. Men had not lived as St. Francis lived since Christ and His disciples preached in Galilee.

The Dominicans in England 1221

The Dominicans were the first of the Friars to arrive in England. They came in the train of Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, the favourite of Henry III. Their first house was built at Oxford (1221); by the end of the century they possessed nearly fifty houses in England and Wales. The Dominicans imitated the Franciscans in renouncing all personal property. They accepted gifts of houses, however, though these at first were the barest shelters. 'I did not enter into religion to build walls' was the reply of one English Friar to the suggestion of a larger and more comfortable house.

The Franciscans in England 1224

The first Franciscan mission to England landed three years later at Dover (1224); three of its nine members were Englishmen. Their first three settlements were at Canterbury, London, and Oxford. It was in the towns that the Friars did their greatest work. They took up their abode 'outside the city walls in a filthy swamp at Norwich, through which the drainage of the city sluggishly trickled into the river; . . . in a mere barn-like structure with walls of mud at Shrewsbury; in the "Stinking Alley" of London'.[1] 'Three things have chiefly exalted our Order', said a Franciscan, 'bare feet, mean garments, and the refusal of money.' To these should be added the power of their preaching. Like the early Methodists and the present Salvation Army, the Friars went out into the streets to preach. Their sermons, delivered in the rough, direct speech of the common people, were full of homely illustrations from common life.

Work in the towns

The followers of St. Dominic were from the first a learned Order. But St. Francis had frowned on study, as one of the snares of the world; in this respect, however, none but his earliest disciples followed his example. Robert Grosseteste,

Grosseteste

[1] Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*.

afterwards Bishop of Lincoln and the friend of de Montfort, accepted the post of lecturer to the Franciscans of Oxford (*c.* 1230). Grosseteste was one of the greatest scholars of his time. 'Unless the brethren devoted themselves to study,' he told the Friars, 'the same fate would befall us as had befallen the other religious, whom we see, alas, walking in the darkness of ignorance.' Grosseteste was the founder of a new school of Franciscan learning: the scholars whom he influenced taught not only in England, but in the schools of France, Germany, and Italy. These scholars studied languages, mathematics, and physics, as well as theology. **Franciscan learning**

The greatest exponent of this school was Friar Roger Bacon (1214–94). His bold challenge to accepted authority, and his insistence on the value of experiment have earned Friar Bacon the title of the Father of Modern Science. He himself is said to have invented spectacles and a primitive telescope; he also knew something of the properties of gunpowder. That he was a man of exceptional imagination may be judged from his remarkable prophecies: 'Cars may be so made that they may be moved without an animal. Flying machines are possible, so that a man may sit in the middle turning some device by which artificial wings may beat the air in the manner of a flying bird,' and he also foretold that ships would be invented which would move without oars or sails. **Roger Bacon**

The spirit of inquiry which Bishop Grosseteste and Friar Bacon aroused bore fruit in later times, when the mind of Europe awakened in the dawn of the Renaissance.[1]

4. *The Medieval Builder*

The cathedrals of Europe built in the Middle Ages are undoubtedly among the greatest masterpieces of human achievement. The medieval builder loved his work and was a master of it; he built as though his work would last for ever.

The Norman style[2] was introduced from the Continent, and was developed in the cathedrals and churches of England. It is, like Saxon, a form of Romanesque architecture, so called because it was a development of the Roman. Norman churches were characterized by the immense thickness of the walls, and **Romanesque Architecture**

[1] See Chapter XIII. [2] See Chapter IV, note at end.

by the use of the massive round column and the round arch; the windows were constructed by making in the outside of the wall a narrow slit, which was widened as it went inwards. Norman ornament, in early work, followed somewhat stereotyped patterns, the best known being the chevron, the billet, and the beak-head. Later, ornamentation became more profuse, and grotesque carved heads are a feature of late Norman, as of all medieval, architecture.

Many of our English cathedrals have Norman naves,[1] while numbers of our parish churches still show some features of Norman work, as do some of our ruined abbeys and castles. Romsey Abbey Church (Hampshire), now the parish church, is perhaps the best preserved and the most beautiful Norman church in England. In Normandy, itself the original home of the Norman style,[2] we may notice the twin abbeys founded by William the Conqueror and his queen: the Abbaye aux Hommes and the Abbaye aux Dames, at Caen.

Origin of Gothic

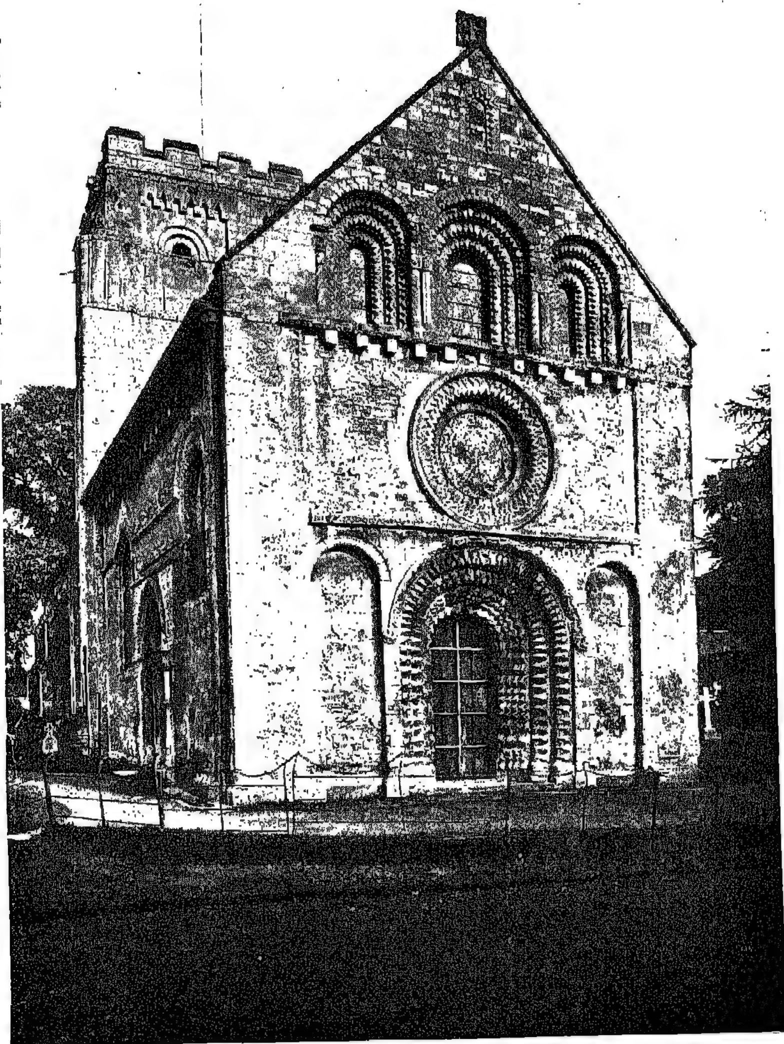
Towards the middle of the twelfth century, the Norman style of architecture gradually gave place to a new style, to which later ages have given the name of Gothic.[3] This new style first arose in the north of France, and there it reached its greatest heights of achievement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The wonderful cathedrals of Chartres, Rheims, Amiens, and Notre Dame of Paris were all built between 1140 and 1250.

The typical Norman church, as we have seen, had thick walls and columns, round arches, and small windows: the whole effect was one of massiveness. The Gothic church, on the

[1] Chichester, Durham (the finest), Ely, Gloucester, Hereford, Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, St. Albans, and Southwell Cathedrals, all have Norman naves. Tewkesbury Abbey Church and Exeter Cathedral have the best remaining Norman towers; while the graceful transepts at Winchester and the exquisite Chapel of St. Mary at Glastonbury Abbey show Norman work of a style less massive, but equally impressive. There is a magnificent Norman west front at Lincoln Cathedral.

[2] The 'Norman style' includes the buildings of Henry II's reign, as well as those of the Norman kings.

[3] So called in derision by the architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who preferred the Roman or Classical style. Gothic meant 'barbarian'—the Goths helped to destroy the Roman Empire.



NORMAN ARCHITECTURE

The west front of Iffley Church, Oxford, built early in the twelfth century, a very fine example of the Norman church. Types of Norman ornament can be seen in the photo-

other hand, had pointed arches, larger windows, and thinner walls: the effect was one of airiness, lightness, and grace. How was the change brought about? The first transforming factor was the invention of 'ribbed' vaulting.[1] Ribs are simply skeleton arches, like the ribs of an umbrella; they are built first, and the space between them filled in afterwards. This greatly simplified the task of building a stone roof. It was also found that, for vaulting purposes, a pointed stone arch was preferable to a round one. By the end of the twelfth century the pointed arch, usually called Gothic, had taken the place of the round Norman arch.

Characteristics of Gothic

Pointed Arch

The improvement in stone vaulting led to another important development, that of the use of the buttress. It was found that the thrusts from the roof were concentrated at the points from which the arches sprang. At these points, therefore, buttresses were built on the outside wall, to take the weight of the roof. Thick walls were thus done away with, and superseded by thinner ones with buttresses. Buttresses, however, could only be built on the ground against the outside walls, that is, against the walls of the aisles. The nave, having aisles on both sides, could not be strengthened in the same way. So the aisle buttresses were carried up above the aisle roof, and from each to the nave walls an arch was built which received the thrust of the vaulting and carried it to the ground. This is called a 'flying buttress'.

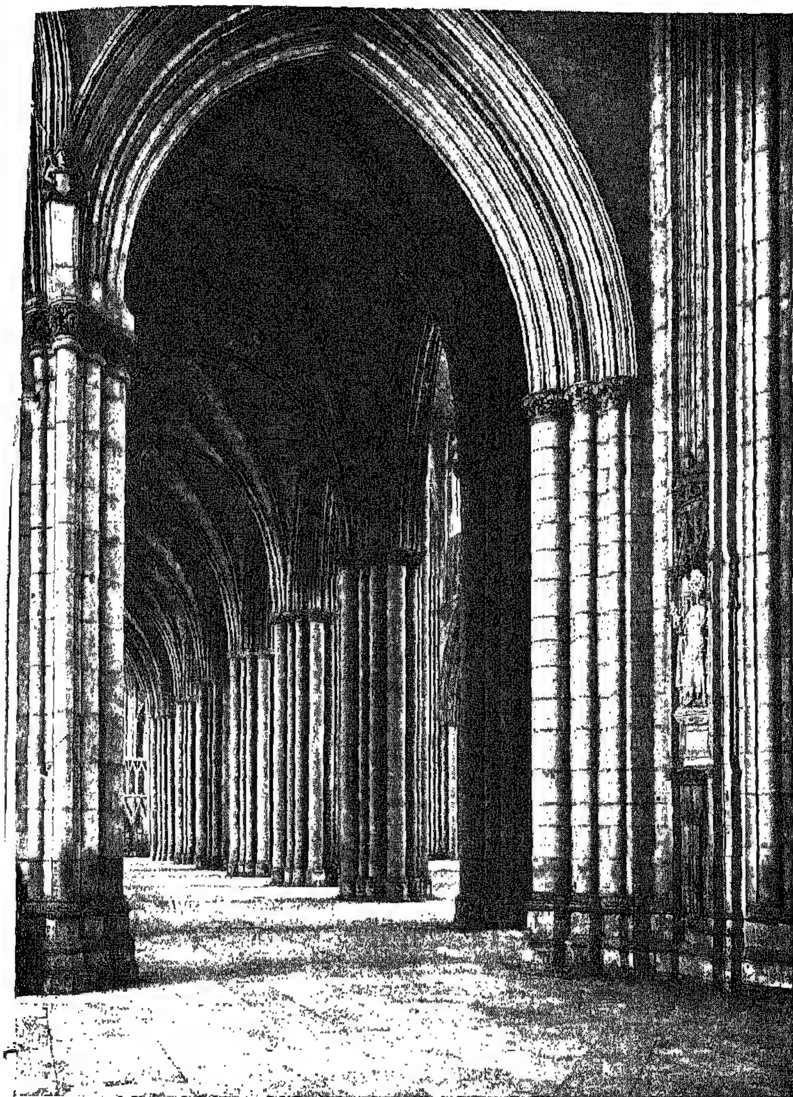
The Buttress

One effect of the invention of the buttress was an improvement in lighting. Since the thickness of the walls was no longer important, the walls themselves largely gave way to windows, which increased in size as the manufacture of glass improved. Stained glass was much used; it is more effective, however, in sunnier climates than England.

Windows

A Gothic church has been compared to a forest of stone. Any one who stands in a Gothic cathedral and notes the arches, springing upwards from their columns like branches from tree trunks, will see the force of this comparison. The effect was increased by what is called 'naturalistic' decoration. The ornamented mouldings in a Gothic building are

[1] First used by the Norman builders (e.g. at Durham Cathedral, 1095) but commoner later.



GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

York Minster. The pointed arches and ribbed pillars give an effect of soaring grace in strong contrast to the massive Saxon and Norman styles.

taken from nature. First leaves only, and then, later, acorns and fruits, were exquisitely carved in stone. The effect was very different from the geometrical decoration of Norman work.

The transition from Norman to Gothic was marked by the use of the pointed arch in the vault, while the rounded arch was still used in doorways. This transitional stage is best seen in England in Canterbury Cathedral, built (*c.* 1170) under the supervision of William of Sens, on the model of Sens Cathedral.[1] The full Gothic form came into general use at the end of the twelfth century.

It is usual to divide Gothic architecture in England into three 'styles' called Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular.

Early English

The Early English style should more properly be called Early Gothic, since it was more an adoption from France than a native growth. It was used in the building of the first Cistercian abbeys in Yorkshire, Rievaulx and Fountains (*c.* 1150), and in the rebuilding of Lincoln Cathedral (1185–1200). Most English cathedrals have some parts rebuilt in the Early English style, but its greatest glories are to be seen at Salisbury, Westminster Abbey, and Wells.

Salisbury Cathedral (1220–58, in Henry III's reign) is unlike all other English Gothic cathedrals in that it was all built in one style. It is one of the most perfect buildings in England, set in a typically English scene—the subject of one of Constable's famous pictures.[2]

Westminster Abbey

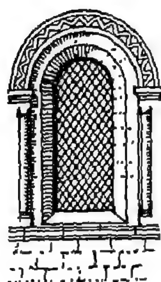
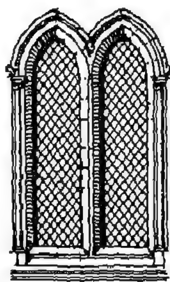
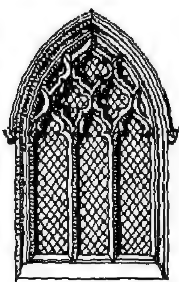
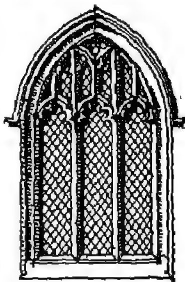
The rebuilding of Westminster Abbey in the new Early English style was inspired by King Henry III, who pulled down the Confessor's abbey. The king was an architectural enthusiast, and he planned to make his abbey one of the great glories of England. An inscription in the floor reads: 'As the Rose is to other flowers, so this House is among buildings.' The use of flying buttresses, adapted from the cathedrals at Amiens and Rheims, is a great feature of Henry III's abbey. Wells Cathedral has a glorious Early English western

[1] The actual stone used to build Canterbury Cathedral was brought from Caen in Normandy.

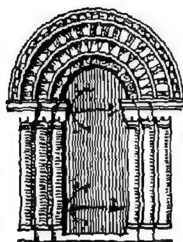
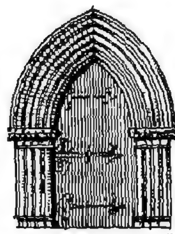
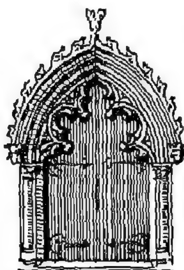
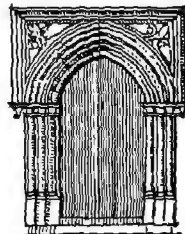
[2] W. H. Hudson speaks in *A Shepherd's Life* of his impressions—his 'shock of pleased wonder at the sight of that immense interior'—on first entering Salisbury Cathedral as a boy.

TYPICAL DETAILS OF ENGLISH MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE

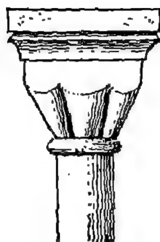
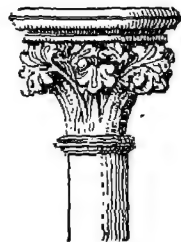
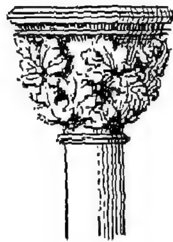
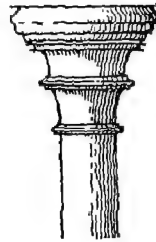
NORMAN | EARLY ENGLISH | DECORATED | PERPENDICULAR

WINDOWS

DOORWAYS

CAPITALS

front, with carved statues of saints and kings, reminiscent of the great cathedrals of France.

Early English buildings had narrow pointed windows, called lancets, often arranged in groups of three, but sometimes of five, as in the case of the famous 'Five Sisters' at York Minster (50 feet high). The second stage of Gothic, called Decorated,[1] is marked by a great development in the tracery of windows and by the use of geometrical patterns. The best Decorated cathedral in England is Exeter, where the west front rivals that at Wells.

Decorated

Late in the fourteenth century Gothic architecture entered on its last phase, the Perpendicular, in which geometrical tracery gave way to the use of straight lines. The windows[2] became very large—'light and more light was the great gift of the Perpendicular builder.' Many cathedrals (e.g. Gloucester) and many parish churches had Perpendicular additions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Perpendicular

Our churches, like our cathedrals, are the slow growth of centuries; it is sometimes possible to see all styles, from Saxon to Tudor,[3] in one building.[4] The Perpendicular period, in particular, is well represented in the parish churches of England: in Devon and East Norfolk almost every church was rebuilt at this time; and the Cotswold wool merchants also built many noble churches like those of Northleach and Chipping Campden.

The transition from castle[5] to house can also be studied in most localities. The long immunity of England from foreign invasion, together with the final conquest of Wales, led to the conversion of castles from fortified dwellings to places of comfort and beauty. A good example of this process can be followed at Kenilworth Castle, once one of the strongest fortresses

Castles and Manor Houses

[1] Roughly covering the reigns of the three Edwards, *c.* 1270–1370.

[2] Fine examples are to be seen in St. Michael's, Coventry, the choir of St. Mary's, Warwick, and New College Chapel, Oxford.

[3] Early Tudor (*c.* 1485–1550) is very similar to Perpendicular.

[4] For example, Berkswell Church, near Coventry, has a Saxon crypt, containing an altar to a Saxon saint; above is a Norman church, with Gothic additions; the porch is Tudor. Thus does the parish church span the centuries.

[5] For Norman Castles see Chapter IV, Appendix.

in England. Kenilworth began as a Norman castle, and the strong Norman keep still stands. In the reigns of John and Henry III, the castle was enlarged by the building of an encircling wall, and strengthened by the making of a huge artificial lake beyond the wall. So constructed, Kenilworth was impregnable. However, a century after it had passed into the hands of the Earls of Lancaster (1266), Kenilworth entered on more peaceful days. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III, built a beautiful Banqueting Hall (fourteenth century), the ruins of which remain.[1]

Small castles or fortified manor houses were fairly common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; some old manor houses surrounded by a moat still remain, but the fortified manor house, like the larger castles, gradually lost its military character.

The Middle Ages left us 'the thought-image of England itself which we still hold in our hearts; towns, villages, churches, bridges, houses'.[2] In the making of this England, the builder played the greatest part. Much of his work has gone, but much still remains. To see it and to appreciate it is part of the understanding of the history of England.

5. *The Town and the Guild*

(i) *Origin and Development of Towns.*

Origin of English towns

Nearly all[3] English medieval towns originated in Saxon times, and were simply villages which, from various causes, grew larger than their neighbours. Various natural advantages might make a village a good trading centre. Bristol, the second city to London, owed its prosperity to the bridge over the Avon, and the easy river communication with the Channel, giving access to the ports of western Europe. Southampton,

[1] When the House of Lancaster obtained the throne of England (Henry IV), the castle passed to the royal family. In the great days of Queen Elizabeth (who gave Kenilworth to Lord Leicester) it must have been difficult to imagine the grim times of the past. For the castle was lost in the glories of a palace, and the lake, once a work of defence, was covered with pleasure-boats. To-day, fortress and palace are merged in a common ruin—the work of Cromwell's men after the Civil War.

[2] *Legacy of the Middle Ages.*

[3] i.e. apart from the Roman towns, for which see Chapter I, Sect. 4.

Yarmouth, Portsmouth, and the Cinque Ports of the south coast similarly owed their rise to good harbours, suitable either for fishing or trading vessels. Again, just as a good harbour was an asset to a coast town, so a good position on a river made a town a centre of inland trade. Examples of such river-towns are Gloucester, where the first bridge spans the Severn; Oxford, where cattle could be driven over the river with safety; and Stratford, at the ford over the Avon.

The presence of a great monastery was another reason for the growth of a town, and so, after the Conquest, was that of a castle. The frequent visitors whom the abbot or lord received often brought large retinues of soldiers and servants in their train, and so encouraged trade in the neighbouring town. Bury St. Edmunds, St. Albans, and Abingdon are examples of towns that grew round monasteries; Warwick, Arundel, and Lancaster of those that grew round castles.

There are, of course, many English towns where we can see a combination of such favourable circumstances. Thus, Oxford, besides being a 'ford-town', boasted a Norman castle and two monasteries; Durham possessed the palatine bishop's castle and a cathedral; Chepstow was a seaport as well as the seat of a Marcher lord. London, the leading city of England since Roman times, has advantages of land and sea communication unrivalled by any other English town. The famous bridge made the city the meeting place for roads from north, south, and west; while eastward lies the Thames estuary, the harbour for the ships of western Europe.

London

While most of our towns have thus grown out of villages from natural causes, there is an important group originating in the Danish wars of Alfred and his successors. The Danes themselves were great town-builders; to them may be traced the development of the famous five boroughs of the eastern midlands—Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln,[1] Leicester, and Stamford. Norwich, for many centuries the capital of eastern England as Bristol was of the west, grew from a Norse settlement (= *wich*); and the navigable river Yare made it easy of access

Danish burhs

[1] Lincoln was a Roman town. It was important as early as the seventh century, as is clear from Bede's account of the conversion of Blaccca by Paulinus.

to Norse traders. While the Danish invaders built and settled towns, Alfred and his son and daughter, Edward and the Lady Ethelfleda, built and fortified other places to resist them. The names of some are mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*;[1] the most important were Bridgnorth, Tamworth, Warwick, Towcester, Buckingham, and Maldon. These burhs or boroughs were originally enclosed places surrounded by wooden fortifications. The name 'borough', thus originally applied to a place of defence, came in time to be applied to all places which had grown beyond the dignity of a mere village, and which could claim, as we shall see, important privileges of their own. Nearly a hundred boroughs are mentioned in Domesday Book: London, Bristol, Norwich, Winchester, Lincoln, and York were the largest, but none of these, except London, had a population of more than seven or eight thousand people.

Feudal burdens

In the earliest stages of its growth a town was indistinguishable from a village or manor, and the townsmen were burdened with all the obligations of the villein or ordinary serf. As the trade of a town grew, the townsmen often tried to buy themselves free from feudal burdens. By the time of the Norman Conquest most townsmen had already bought their freedom from the main obligation of serfdom—three days' work a week on the lord's land. Further, they had either bought, or had acquired by custom, their personal freedom; they were free to come and go as they pleased and to conduct their own business. Any serf who escaped from his lord's service and remained in a town for a year and a day was considered a free man.

There were, however, many burdensome duties, relics of the servile past, which many townsmen had to endure, in some cases, for many centuries. At Egremont, as late as the thirteenth century, the lord could still demand that 'the burgesses with ploughs shall plough for me one day every year'; and at Manchester some feudal services were owed to the lord right up to the nineteenth century.

Progress towards freedom

The progress of towns towards freedom from feudal control depended largely on who was their lord. Most English towns, fortunately for them, were on the royal demesne—that is to say, their lord was the king, who was a comparatively easy

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 910-24.

master; his interests were wide and free from local jealousy. The needs of the royal exchequer, too, especially in time of war, often urged the king to forgo his feudal rights in return for a sum of money. Many towns received charters of freedom under Henry II and Richard I; still more under John, who has been called the great charter-monger. York, Norwich, Winchester, Southampton, and Gloucester are all examples of towns which early received royal charters.

The development of towns not on the royal demesne was less rapid, since a local baron was often jealous of the progress of the townspeople. But a harsh lord, however severely he bore on the townsmen, was bound to die some day, and he might be succeeded by a spendthrift, eager to sell his feudal rights. On the other hand, the corporation of the town, ceaselessly struggling for freedom, never died. Very different was the case of those towns unfortunate enough to lie on a monastic estate. There, one undying corporation, the Town, was matched by another, the Church. A prior or abbot was unwilling to sell the feudal rights which he had inherited from his predecessor; he regarded such rights as a sacred charge, to part with which would injure the Church. The contests between town and monastery, therefore, were long and bitter, and often accompanied by riots. Disorders were especially liable to break out during periods of national crisis, such as the breakdown of the central government. Thus, at the deposition of Edward II (1327), there was a great riot at Bury St. Edmunds. The townsmen of Bury broke into the monastery and carried off the abbot and monks to prison. They also 'mowed the meadows, felled the trees, and fished the ponds of the abbey, taking away the grass, trees, and fish'.

Townsmen and monks

In early times towns were ruled, not by an officer of their own choice, but by a reeve, responsible like the manor reeve to the sheriff of the county, who represented the king. The reeve collected the taxes and was responsible for the defence of the town. It was one of the chief objects of municipal policy to get rid of the reeve, the sheriff, and 'all the king's men', and to obtain town officials in their places. This was achieved by buying from the king the right to 'farm'[1] the borough, which

The Reeve

[1] Farm, from medieval Latin, *firma*, rent.

meant to collect the taxes due to the Crown. Once this right was granted, the sheriff or 'other rough and powerful officer set over our town' could practically be excluded from its



The medieval town. A scene depicted in a fifteenth-century manuscript. Inside the gate is a money-changer's stall.

walls. A further step was the holding of the borough court, under borough magistrates, who could try cases which formerly went to the hundred court. London was granted (1131), in Henry I's reign, the privilege that 'the citizens shall not plead outside the walls of the city for any plea'.

The privileges which town charters secured were given to

Burgesses

the 'burgesses' of the town, for it must be borne in mind that the inhabitants of a town were by no means all on an equal footing. Originally a burgess may have been a man who held a piece of land or a house (burgage) within the town. But, as towns grew, the number of burgesses did not necessarily increase, since the original burgage-holders were jealous of their privileges. They were certainly a minority of the citizens, and in their hands the government of the town was vested. It was they who elected the chief officers of the town, the mayor and his assistant councillors, usually called aldermen.[1] London elected its own mayor about 1191, King's Lynn in 1204, Bristol in 1217. In Coventry, on the other hand, where the prior of the monastery clung to his feudal rights, the city did not elect its own mayor till 1348.[2]

Mayors

English towns in the Middle Ages never attained the wealth and independence of those of Italy, Flanders, or Germany; the growing political unity of England prevented them from becoming actually independent communities. But their local self-government was nevertheless real. A town became a commune, a community of people living together under their own elected officers; hence the people in the town—together with the knights of that other local community, the shire—formed the 'commons', and their representatives at Westminster the House of 'Commons'. It was in the towns and in the shires that the Commons learnt the lesson of self-government.

The communal spirit

The burgesses took great pride in the public buildings of their borough, on which were expended all the skill and love of beautiful form which characterized the Middle Ages at their best. Of the many churches and guild-halls which were built in medieval towns, only a few are left. Norwich once had over fifty churches; even a small place like Lewes had eight. Those churches which remain tell of a splendour of architecture which has passed away. They show that the medieval builder had a sense of beauty which the makers of later industrial England were too busy to consider or to understand. And it is doubtful whether the medieval trader would have been permitted by his fellows to ruin the appearance of his native place by putting

[1] 'Mayor' is a Norman-French word; 'Alderman', Anglo-Saxon.

[2] Dormer Harris, *Coventry*.

up ugly buildings for quick profit—as is happening all over England to-day.

Dark side of town life

But we must beware of exaggerating the picturesque side of medieval town life. The conditions under which people lived were in many respects horrible. Houses, except those of the wealthy, were built of wood and thatch, easily liable to catch fire, and were crowded together in dirty, narrow streets. Sanitation was unknown. Noise, which we are so apt to consider a modern invention, was certainly not absent in a city swarming with street vendors, vagabonds, outlaws, and ruffians of all sorts—and without police. But the bright colours of everyday costume—the blues and reds and greens worn by men and women alike—certainly added a touch of gaiety to the scene, as the merchant or beggar pursued his way along the 'merry, noisy, dirty, bright-coloured, stinking Eastcheap' of medieval London.

The darkest side of the picture was the terrible prevalence of misery and disease. Fever, plague, and skin diseases of all sorts were inevitable in towns where the majority of the inhabitants seldom washed, and were ignorant of the rules of hygiene. 'The sediment of the town population in the Middle Ages was a dense slough of stagnant misery, squalor, famine, loathsome disease and dull despair, such as the worst slums of London or Liverpool know nothing of.'[1]

(ii) *The Guilds.*

Medieval townsmen were jealous of their neighbours, and people from other towns were 'foreigners'[2] to be treated with suspicion. The walls shut out the 'foreign' trader, who was not admitted within the town gates except on payment of a toll. The trade of a town was controlled in most places by a body known as the Merchant Guild,[3] which became common in England after the Norman Conquest. The earliest record we have of a guild is of that at Burford (Oxon.), 1087–1107.

[1] Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars.*

[2] 'Foreigner', from Latin *foris*, out of doors or bounds.

[3] Guild, i.e. fraternity, derived from the Old English verb 'gilden', to pay (compare Danegeld or money), because every guildsman paid his share towards the expenses of the guild. Their place of meeting was called the guild-hall.

The Merchant Guild

The Merchant Guild was originally composed of all the traders within the town; its members had the exclusive right of buying and selling within the borough. The Guild drew up a strict code of rules by which all members were bound. These rules had two chief objects: the exclusion of 'foreigners', and the regulation of prices for the benefit of the whole community. The modern notion that it is a tradesman's business to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest was contrary to medieval notions of morality. There was a 'just price' for everything, and a just profit; more than that profit a man was not entitled—or allowed—to make. Every town, for example, had its Assize of Bread and Assize of Ale, by which the sale of these commodities was determined according to the price of wheat and barley. It was, however, possible for the trader to cheat his neighbours by giving short measure or bad quality; and for such offences a variety of punishments were devised to 'fit the crime'. Thus the vendor of sour or bad wine was compelled to drink some of the unpleasant beverage, and have the remainder poured over his head. Bakers who had sold false weight were drawn on hurdles through the streets, with the offending loaf hanging round their necks; and a pillory was placed in every market-place for the punishment of fraudulent tradesmen.

Assizes of Bread and Ale

The Merchant Guild thus controlled the trade of a town and regulated prices. There also grew up, during the thirteenth century, the Craft Guild, which was an association of all men engaged in one particular trade or craft—like the goldsmiths, the weavers, the fishmongers, the drapers, or the haberdashers —and its object was the complete regulation of that trade. The Craft Guild controlled the manner in which a man might enter a trade, and the manner in which he might afterwards practise it. A boy entered a craft in his early teens, and served a term of 'apprenticeship'—usually seven years. After serving his term and learning the trade, he became a 'journeyman'[1] or working craftsman. From this position he could, if he were skilful and industrious, rise to that of a 'master' craftsman—just as a university pupil could become a Master of Arts and be licensed to teach others.

The Craft Guild

[1] From French *journée*; therefore one who worked and was paid by the day.

Guild regulations

The Guild regulations bound the craftsman by an elaborate system which fixed prices and wages, and determined the quality of his work. The Guild kept the ideal of sound craftsmanship always before its eyes. 'If the threads are deficient in the cloth or are too far apart,' said a rule of the Weavers of Bristol, 'that cloth, and the instrument on which it is worked, ought to be burnt.' A bad workman was held to bring discredit on his fellows. At Chester (1429) a shoemaker was fined £10 for selling shoes of inferior workmanship 'to the prejudice of the company of shoemakers'. But the rules of the Guild could not always overcome the desire of the manufacturer to cheat the public. In Coventry the clothmakers stretched out broadcloth 'to the high displeasure of God and deceit of the wearers'; and there were many other instances of dishonest work in spite of the rules of the Guilds.

Mystery plays

Many Guilds were named after a patron saint, and all of them had a religious side. Chapels, for instance, for corporate acts of devotion, were often attached to the guild-hall. Closely connected with this side of their life were the religious plays, which the guildsmen annually performed for the entertainment of the town. These plays were often elaborate affairs, especially in the larger towns like York, Norwich, and Coventry, and in them we can trace the beginnings of the English drama of later times. At Norwich the crafts were divided into twelve groups, each of which produced an annual pageant. The Mercers and Drapers presented the Creation of the World; the Grocers, Paradise; the Smiths, David and Goliath, and so on. The plays were performed several times at various 'stations' in the town, and we see a relic of this custom in the Lord Mayor's Show in London. The players provided their own costumes and painted their faces with crude colours. Music, too, had its part in these popular pageants—the 'mynstralcy of harp and lute', the 'small pypis', and the 'organ pleyinge'.

Social services

Guilds also acted as friendly societies; they raised funds from among their members for the care of their aged and sick. Thus the Barber Surgeons of London ordained that if one of their brethren fell into trouble or poverty, 'if he have nothing of his own by which he may be able to live, and if it be not through his own folly, then shall he have each week from the

common box tenpence halfpenny for his sustenance'. The education of the young also called for the guildsmen's care, and many grammar schools were founded by them. The Guild of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, founded the college which bears its name; and at the present day scholarships are still granted by the Drapers' and Goldsmiths' Guilds (or Companies) of London.

Education

Thus the activities of the guilds were many and various. They served as religious fraternities, as popular play producers, as insurance societies against sickness and poverty. They have sometimes been compared with the modern trade union, but there are important differences; for example, the trade union is not concerned so much with the quality of the work as with the wages of the workman; and the craft guild of the thirteenth century included masters as well as men, since it was assumed that all were equally concerned with the welfare of the craft. Later, towards the close of the fourteenth century, we see the rise of journeymen's guilds—associations of workmen from which masters were excluded—and these were an indication that the interests of masters and men were beginning to diverge. The rise of a separate class of 'capitalist' masters, with interests different from those of their workmen, was a later development.

Journeymen's Guilds



A fraudulent baker. On the left he is putting an undersized loaf into the oven, and on the right he is being drawn through the streets on a hurdle, with the offending loaf hanging round his neck (see p. 212).

X

EDWARD III AND THE FRENCH WAR

1. *The Outbreak of the Hundred Years War*

EDWARD III was a boy of fourteen when he succeeded his deposed father (1327). For three years the government remained in the hands of Lord Mortimer and Queen Isabella,[1] who had been responsible for the late king's overthrow. Like all usurpers, Mortimer was in constant fear of treachery; he quarrelled with the Earl of Lancaster, who had helped him to power, and caused the Earl of Kent, the king's uncle, to be executed (1330). The fate of Kent convinced Lancaster that his own turn would come next; he therefore proposed to the young king that Mortimer should be overthrown. Edward was now a high-spirited youth of seventeen; he was already married, and his eldest son, the future Black Prince, had just been born. He was eager to shake off the degrading yoke of his mother's rule, and decreed the arrest of her lover. Mortimer was accordingly seized one night at Nottingham Castle, and, in spite of the queen's entreaties—'Fair son, have pity on the gentle Mortimer'—hurried to London. There he was tried for high treason and executed. The queen spent the rest of her days in retirement.

Edward III 1327–77

Mortimer and Isabella

Their fall 1330

With the fall of Mortimer, Edward III's rule began. He was a typical product of his age, an age when war was the sport of kings. He excelled at the mock warfare of the tournament, and was the hero of his own class, the gallant lords of England, who loved a fight better than they loved gold. It was natural that such a king should turn his attention to a revival of his grandfather's schemes of conquest in the north. The opportunity soon came: Edward Balliol seized the throne of Scotland (1332)—three years after the death of Robert Bruce—and plunged his country into civil war. Edward III decided to support Balliol against the House of Bruce, and sent an army to the north, which routed the Scots at Halidon Hill (1333).

Scottish War

[1] See above, p. 187.

This seemed like a repetition of the triumphs of Edward I. But Edward III found it as impossible to establish a Balliol on the throne, against the wishes of the Scottish people, as his grandfather had done. He spent a winter in Scotland (1334–5), but could not subdue the country. Balliol's 'reign' was one long-continued civil war. Meanwhile the outbreak of the Hundred Years War with France saved the independence of Scotland. When Edward finally departed, the Scots repudiated his vassal-king, and King David returned from France (1341), where he had taken refuge in the court of Philip of Valois.

Edward III and France

There were many reasons for the outbreak of the great French war. The main cause was the presence of the English in Gascony. The lands which Edward III held in Gascony[1] were very much smaller than the vast inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine,[2] for the aggressions of the French kings since Philip Augustus had gradually reduced them in area. It was inevitable that this policy of aggression should continue; that peace could only be patched up for a time; and that the French kings should not rest until the English were driven into the sea. It was equally inevitable that the English should resist this process.

Philip VI 1328–50

In 1328 a new French king succeeded to the throne. He was Philip of Valois (Philip VI), cousin of the last king, Charles IV. Edward, who was Charles IV's nephew,[3] afterwards claimed the throne. But Philip of Valois was chosen king for the simple reason that he was the nearest Frenchman in the line of succession. The French had no intention, in 1328 or later, of considering the right[4] of the King of England to succeed to the throne of France. Edward, indeed, did homage to Philip (1329) for Gascony, and for his other holding in France, Ponthieu (see map, p. 224), which he had inherited from his grandmother.

[1] Gascony is the south-west portion of Aquitaine (or what the French called Guienne). There was a very close connexion between England and south-western France (the wine-trade of Bordeaux, the ship-building of Bayonne)—and this is one of the keys to the Hundred Years War. Many English officials gained experience in governing Gascony.

[2] See Chapter VI.

[3] See Table opposite.

[4] The so-called Salic Law—that the French throne could not be inherited by or through a woman—was a later invention.

Edward's quarrel with France

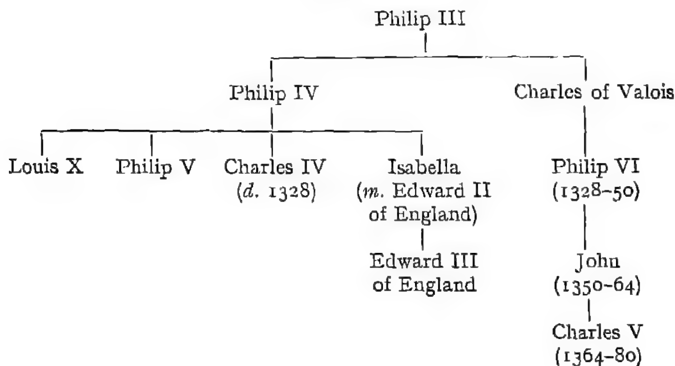
But the relations between Edward and Philip were strained from the first. Philip would not give up his designs on Gascony; he consistently helped the Scots in their resistance to Edward Balliol, and was harbouring the exiled king, David II. Edward, in fact, felt that he could never conquer Scotland until he had settled his accounts with France. Lastly, Philip was endeavouring to bring the rich province of Flanders under his control. The Count of Flanders, at his instigation, prohibited commerce between his country and England. Edward replied by stopping the export of English wool to Flanders (1337). Since the great Flemish cloth-manufacturing cities, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, took two-thirds of the English wool-clip every year, this meant ruin for them. The Flemish merchants, indignant at the action of their Count, wished to repudiate him and make an alliance with Edward.

Flanders

Edward, meanwhile, formed a league with the Emperor and various German princes of the Rhine. Philip concluded that the alliance was directed against him, and declared that Gascony and Ponthieu were thereby forfeited to the French Crown. By 1338 the two countries had drifted into war, in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of the Pope to stop them. The Flemings, led by James van Artevelde, a merchant of Ghent, made the desired alliance with Edward, and their Count fled to France.

Hundred Years War begins, 1338

TABLE SHOWING EDWARD III's CLAIM TO THE FRENCH CROWN



Then, partly in order that his new allies might say they were not fighting against their liege lord, Edward put forward his claim to the French throne. He assumed the arms of France and the title of King of France at Ghent (1340). The title was not abandoned by his successors till the reign of George III.

Edward claims French crown, 1340

Thus in three different spheres Edward hoped to gain by a successful war against France, even supposing he abandoned his claim to Philip's throne, which, as we have seen, was in any case only an afterthought. In Gascony he wished to put a stop to the French king's designs, perhaps even to restore the lost Angevin dominions. In Flanders he hoped to cement the trade alliance, so valuable to both countries, to the exclusion of the French. Finally, he hoped to crush the Scots when he had beaten their French allies. And so he embarked on the struggle which was to last for the rest of his long reign, and of which no man then living saw the end.

Popularity of the war

The prospect of the French war was attractive to Edward's subjects. It was popular, not only with the knightly class, but with the yeomen who supplied Edward's famous archers, and who formed, as we shall see, the backbone of his army. The army, in fact, was not a mere feudal array, but may be called the first national army that ever went out of England. France was the land of adventure to the soldier. There he might live, at the French people's expense, a fighting, roving life such as he loved, and come home laden with the plunder of rich cities and provinces. If a man joined in this adventure he cut a fine figure in the eyes of that age. The 'soldier from the wars returning' was sure of a welcome in England.

2. *Crécy, Calais, and the Black Death*

In June 1340, Edward embarked from Orwell (Suffolk) with a fleet of 200 vessels, drawn from all the English ports. There was then no distinction between merchant and fighting ships. The men of the Channel towns, including the Cinque Ports,[1] gladly provided ships to fight their French rivals. The French

[1] Sandwich, Dover, Romney, Hythe, and Hastings were the original Cinque Ports. Of these only Dover has survived as a large port to the present day. Romney, like Winchelsea near by, is now an inland town, owing to the silting up of the coast.

fleet, drawn chiefly from Normandy, was prepared to resist Edward's passage to Flanders. An important naval battle was fought off Sluys, near Ostend, and resulted in a complete victory for the English. After a hard fight, most of the French vessels were captured. By this victory England won the command of the Narrow Seas,[1] which she retained for a generation.

Sluys, 1340

Edward did not at once follow up this victory, though he invaded Brittany (1342) without achieving any result. But a French attack on Gascony (1346) made him decide to invade France. An army of 2,400 cavalry and 10,000 archers embarked at Portsmouth (July 1346) and sailed for the Norman coast. A landing was made at Barfleur, and the army then marched eastward across Normandy, taking Caen on the way.

Invasion of France, 1346

For a picture of the behaviour of the English troops on this and many another campaign we must turn to Jean Froissart, an adventurer who came to the court of Edward's queen, Philippa, and who followed Edward on his campaigns. Froissart became an historian of the war, and painted a lively picture of the times. Describing the march through Normandy (1346), he says:

Froissart's account of the campaign

> 'The lord Godfrey as marshall rode forth from the king's battle a six or seven leagues, in brenning (burning) and exiling the country, the which was plentiful of everything—the granges full of corn, the houses full of all riches, rich burgesses, carts and chariots, horse, swine, muttons, and other beasts; they took what them list and brought into the king's host; but the soldiers made no count to the king . . . of the gold and silver that they did get; they kept that to themselves. . . . Thus by the Englishmen was brent, exiled, robbed, wasted and pilled the good, plentiful country of Normandy.'

From this we can form an idea of the sufferings of France and of what medieval warfare was like; military discipline, as we understand it, was unknown; the country was simply abandoned to the soldiers to rob and plunder.

Edward's object was to join his allies in Flanders, but he found the bridges on the Seine broken, and marched nearly to

[1] The 'Narrow Seas', i.e. the channels separating England from the adjacent Continent and from Ireland.

Paris before he found a crossing at Poissy. The English now struck northwards, with the French army hard on their track. The Somme was crossed near Abbeville. It was a few miles north of that town that the king drew up his forces to meet the French attack. The battle was fought at Crécy (26 August 1346).

Crécy, 1346 The battle of Crécy began late on a summer's day. The French knights, impatient of delay and confident in their superior numbers, urged King Philip to an immediate attack. A force of Genoese archers was first sent forward, but 'the English archers let fly their arrows so thick that it seemed snow', and the Genoese fled. Then the French knights dashed forward in a fierce cavalry charge, right through the ranks of the Genoese. But that mail-clad army never reached the English line. The horsemen were shot down right and left by the steady aim of the English bowmen. The French continued their fruitless attacks till darkness ended the fight. The English losses were negligible. At nightfall, the remains of Philip's army retreated to Abbeville. The victory of Crécy had established the superiority of the English archers over the heavily armed knights of feudal France.

Edward now marched on Calais, and besieged the town by land and sea. Another large fleet was fitted out from the Siege of Calais 1346–7 English ports[1] to capture the rival town. The siege lasted nearly a year (Sept. 1346–Aug. 1347), but at last the town was starved into surrender. Edward moved the mass of the population from their homes, since he intended to make Calais an English town. It had two advantages: it was an open door for a military invasion of France, and it was a convenient port for the wool trade with Flanders.[2] Calais remained in English hands for 200 years.

After the fall of Calais Edward consented to a truce, and returned home. He was now at the height of his fame. In England he found a captive king to add to his laurels. The

[1] It is interesting to notice the relative numbers of the ships provided by the various ports. Fowey (Cornwall) headed the list with 47 ships; Yarmouth provided 43, Dartmouth 31, London 25; seven other ports between 20 and 30 ships each.

[2] See Sect. 4 of this Chapter.

unfortunate David II of Scotland, urged by Philip to make a diversion in his favour, had invaded England just after Crécy. But his army was defeated at Neville's Cross, near Durham (1346), and he himself was captured. The truce of 1347 included Scotland in its scope.

There was no serious fighting for another eight years; in the interval a terrible scourge swept over Europe and England, the most deadly of all the plagues which visited Europe in medieval times. The Black Death, so called from the black boils which were the chief symptom of the disease, reached the west of England in August 1348. By Christmas it was in London, and, raging throughout 1349, it attacked every part of the island. The plague was appallingly sudden: victims usually died within twenty-four hours. There are very few records of how it affected the towns—we can only imagine how the terror raged in their narrow, filthy streets. The contagion was deadly, and it was with shuddering horror that men buried the dead in hastily dug pits—for the churchyards were full. In the country the cattle wandered untended in the fields; the crops rotted for want of labourers to gather in the harvest. The clergy suffered severely, especially the monks; and many monastic houses remained half-empty for a generation after the Black Death.

The Black Death 1348–9

It is not possible to estimate the number of victims, since there were no statistics in the fourteenth century. On a moderate estimate, one in three of the population died; but in some areas the rate of mortality was higher. In the diocese of Norwich 800 parishes lost their priests in the year 1349—83 of them twice, 10 of them three times. A priest in Leicester records that, in his town alone, 300 people died in the parish of St. Leonard's, 400 in that of Holy Cross, and more than 700 in that of St. Margaret's. Many of the Manor Rolls, which record changes of tenants on the manors, tell the same tragic story.[1]

The victims

The effects of the pestilence immediately created labour problems. By the fourteenth century many lords were employing hired labourers rather than relying entirely on villein

[1] On some manors nearly all the tenants died, as at Haddiscoe, near Norwich, where 70 tenants died, 24 of whom left no living soul to inherit their holdings.

labour. It was these hired labourers who now, owing to the scarcity of labour, demanded higher wages than the 2*d.*[1] a day they had been accustomed to receive. Legislation was introduced to put a stop to this. The Statute of Labourers (1349) began by saying that 'because a great part of the people, and especially of workmen and servants', had lately died of the pestilence, 'many, seeing the necessity of masters and great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they may receive excessive wages'. The Statute therefore laid down that workmen were to receive wages at the normal rate of pay—i.e. that before the Black Death. Workmen breaking the Statute were liable to imprisonment; masters paying more than the recognized rates were to be fined.

Statute of Labourers 1349

But it was difficult to enforce this Statute. Masters who found it hard to get any labour at all were willing to pay highly to get what they could. In a further enactment (Statute of Labourers, 1351), it was said that 'the said servants, having no regard to the said Statute, but to their ease and singular covetousness, do refuse to serve great men and other, unless they have livery and wages to the double and treble of that they were wont to take'. The Statute went on to devise further penalties for those who either gave or received higher wages.

Another Statute 1351

The Statutes of Labourers (1349, 1351, 1357, 1360) also attempted to fix prices, since it was argued that if prices did not rise there was no need for labourers to ask for higher wages. The whole of this legislation was conceived in the spirit of the town and guild regulations.[2] Though it dealt with the whole of England, it was to be enforced by local commissions of 'justices of labourers', and so it was not as entirely impracticable as might be supposed. But the problem was too complex for fourteenth-century legislators. Still, they did try, however vainly, to deal with the situation. In this they were unlike the legislators of some later times.[3]

[1] It is a very difficult problem how to express amounts of medieval money in modern money. We may perhaps reckon 2*d.* a day at about 6*s.* 8*d.* nowadays; or about £86 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, reckoning 260 working days, i.e. days of pay, in the year, or £99 for extra harvest work. In 1928, the average farm labourer's wage was about £100 13*s.*

[2] See Chapter IX, Sect. 4.

[3] In the nineteenth century it was considered outside the duty of

3. *The Black Prince*

Death had reaped so large a harvest in the years 1348 and 1349 that it is surprising to find kings and princes still wanting to go to war. Nevertheless, Edward III renewed his attack on France a few years later (1355). The chief command was now given to the Prince of Wales—known, from the colour of his armour, as the Black Prince—who, as a boy of sixteen, had won his spurs at Crécy. The Prince was a very successful general and the idol of England; nor had his countrymen a thought of remorse for the ruin which he inflicted on France. He began operations by conducting a murderous campaign into southern France, starting from Bordeaux. He destroyed over 500 towns and villages in seven weeks. The next year, attempting to repeat this exploit in the west, he was hemmed in by a large French army under John II, the new king. But King John was no match for the Black Prince, who won at Poitiers (1356) a victory even more crushing than Crécy. The French king was captured and sent to England.

The Black Prince

Poitiers 1356

The war went on. Besides the regular army under the Prince, the English soldiers were now organized into semi-official bands known as Free Companies, which roamed about the country, living on plunder. The wretchedness of the French population was indescribable. The peasants were not only harassed by the English raiders, but forced to pay heavy taxes towards the ransom of lords captured at Poitiers. At last, unable to bear their sufferings any longer, they rose in a rebellion known as the Jacquerie,[1] which broke out in the north of France (1358). They committed many crimes, and their unorganized revolt only added to the general confusion and misery. It was stamped out with the ferocity usual to that age.

The Free Companies

The Jacquerie, 1358

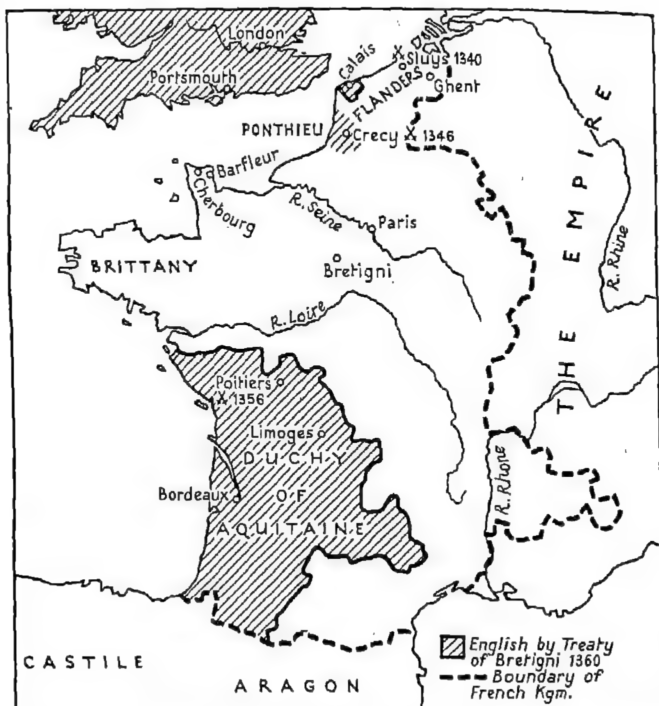
Shortly after this, Edward III imposed the Treaty of Brétigni on the French king (1360). By this treaty the duchy of Gascony was enlarged to a size comparable with the original

Treaty of Brétigni 1360

governments to interfere in wages and prices. Such things, it was held, would work themselves out in obedience to certain mysterious 'economic laws' which few people understood and no one then attempted to control. This view is nowadays losing ground.

[1] From Jacques Bonhomme, the nickname for a French peasant.

duchy of Aquitaine, as held by Henry II (see map). This large territory, together with Calais and Ponthieu, Edward was to hold in absolute sovereignty, and not as the vassal of the French king. In practice, however, Edward never succeeded



FRANCE IN 1360

in annexing Aquitaine, for the French nobles refused to surrender their castles to him. And so, in spite of the treaty, fighting continued.

The war now entered on a new phase. The next French king, Charles V, was a man of far greater ability than his father, John II, who died in captivity (1364). And he had, in Bertrand du Guesclin, a general of genius, who organized a national resistance against the English. The task of conquering France,

Bertrand du Guesclin

or even of holding Aquitaine, proved beyond the strength of England. The resources of the country were unequal to such an undertaking, though Edward continued to borrow money from foreign bankers. He had already ruined the Florentine bankers by repudiating his debts to them (1345).

As long as the Black Prince remained in the field there was some hope for English arms. In 1367 the Prince engaged in an attempt to restore Pedro the Cruel to the throne of Castile, the French taking the side of Pedro's rival, Henry of Trastamara. The Prince won a brilliant victory over Henry and his French allies at Navarette (1367). But as Henry was soon afterwards firmly established on the throne of Castile, the Prince's Spanish campaign was unavailing. Henry remained the ally of France.

The Black Prince in Spain, 1367

The Prince was soon back in France, inflicting more sufferings on the unfortunate people. He took and sacked the town of Limoges (1370), and gave the whole population to the sword:

Sack of Limoges 1370

'It was great pity to see the men, women and children that kneeled down on their knees before the prince for mercy; but he was so inflamed with ire that he took no heed of them, so that none was heard, but all put to death. . . . There was not so hard a heart in the city of Limoges . . . but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyes; for more than 3000 men, women and children were slain and beheaded that day' (Froissart).

But the Black Prince's day was nearly done. He became sick of a mortal disease (1371), and the next year took ship to England, never to return to the scene of his triumphs.

The prince comes home 1372

4. *Wool and Cloth*

The French war bulks large in the chronicles of Edward III's reign. But the king was not only engaged in fighting; his reign is also an important landmark in the history of commerce. We have seen how king and Parliament attempted to deal with labour, wages, and prices after the Black Death. Similarly, they concerned themselves with the regulation and encouragement of trade; Edward III aimed at fostering both foreign commerce and home manufactures.

English wool

In the fourteenth century England was the chief wool-growing[1] country of Europe. The Cistercians had converted the wild valleys of Yorkshire into prosperous sheep farms; the Cotswolds were another important sheep-rearing district. The chief or 'staple' exports of England were wool, hides, leather, and tin; and of these wool was by far the most important. It was sold to the great cloth manufacturing cities of Flanders, like Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres. Some time in the thirteenth century a body known as the Merchants of the Staple was formed; these merchants were granted the sole right of exporting goods from England. As the custom on wool was a considerable source of revenue to the king—he received 6*s.* 8*d.* on every sack exported—it was convenient to fix a Staple town or towns where the tax could be collected.

Merchants of the Staple

When Edward III was forming his alliance with the merchants of Flanders, he made Bruges (1340) the Staple town. Then, in response to the wishes of the home merchants, he named (1353) ten of the chief towns in England as Staple towns.[2] But, ten years later, the advantages of Calais, which was both an English town and convenient to foreign merchants, became apparent. The Staple was moved to Calais and remained there for the rest of the reign.

Staple towns

But Edward III's great work was to transform England from a wool-exporting country into a cloth manufacturing and exporting country. There had, indeed, been a cloth industry from very early times; there were weavers' guilds in London, Oxford, and other towns as early as the reign of Henry I, but this industry had never prospered. Edward now found artificial means to revive it.

English cloth industry

First he invited weavers from Flanders to come and settle in England. John Kempe, a Flemish weaver, settled in Norwich with his workmen (1331) and there started a cloth industry on which the future prosperity of Norfolk was to

[1] The 'Wool-Sack' (a large square bag of wool) is the usual seat in the House of Lords of the Lord Chancellor, the highest judicial officer of the realm. It was adopted because of its symbolic meaning—the wool-trade having been the basis of England's commercial greatness.

[2] Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol.

depend. Norwich was the centre of the new industry; and a village called Worsted, near by, gave its name to a particular kind of cloth. A statute (1337) proclaimed the most liberal treatment to foreign weavers: 'all the cloth workers of strange lands, which will come into England, Wales, and Scotland within the king's power, shall come safely and surely, and shall be in the king's protection and safe-conduct, to dwell in the same lands choosing where they will.' A century after Edward's death, the cloth industry which he had re-started had made England rich.

The king also tried the policy of 'protecting' the weavers in England from foreign competition. He did not maintain this policy consistently because, after the alliance with Flanders (1338), he was afraid of offending the Flemings. But Parliament was more concerned to favour the English manufacturer than to please the Flemings; the 'Good Parliament' (1376) demanded that wool should not be exported. The policy of protection was pursued by later kings (e.g. Edward IV); it is, in its essence, an extension of the spirit which had led the burghers of each medieval town to set up barriers against every other town.

5. *The English Language and Chaucer*

Edward III, by establishing the cloth industry, laid the foundations of England's commercial prosperity; and this was more important in the long run than all the glories of his French campaigns. It was in his reign, too, that the English language took shape as a literary tongue, and that English literature began to develop.

English and French

Ever since the Norman Conquest, under a succession of French-speaking kings, French had been the language of the Court and of the upper classes. The peasants spoke their own dialects, which varied in different parts of the country. Then, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, the upper classes were beginning to speak English. Edward III ordered English to be spoken in the Law Courts (1362) of the realm, on the ground that the French language was 'much unknown in the said realm'. The king commanded that 'all pleas which shall be pleaded in any courts whatsoever' should be 'pleaded,

answered, debated and judged' in English, but should be entered on the rolls in Latin.

The national language soon produced a national poet. Geoffrey Chaucer (1340–1400) was the son of a London vintner. He spent his youth as a page in the household of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the king's third son, and then took service under the king. He served in some of the campaigns in France, and then was sent to Flanders and Italy on diplomatic business. It was his Italian journeys which probably introduced Chaucer to the new Italian literature, and led him to study the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. He wrote in the dialect of London and the southern midlands, and it is partly due to him that this dialect became the standard English of the whole country.

Chaucer 1340–1400

The Canterbury Tales

Chaucer, in his most famous work, the *Canterbury Tales*, has painted an unforgettable picture of the life of fourteenth-century England. The Prologue to the Tales introduces us to thirty pilgrims going to visit the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. They set out from the Tabard Inn in Southwark, riding at a foot's pace because of the bad roads of those times. They were a jolly company. There was the host, a fine comely man, with his victuals of the best and his strong wine. There was the 'very perfect gentle knight' in his coat of mail, his son, a curly-headed squire, fresh as the May morning, and the yeoman with his bow in his hand; the franklin (small country gentleman) in whose hall the table was spread all day, and in whose coops were many a fat partridge—he was chairman of the magistrates, he had been sheriff of his county and several times elected M.P. or knight of the shire; there was also the miller and the reeve of the manor, and the honest ploughman riding in his smock on a mare. Among the representatives of medieval religious life, there was the monk who loved good cheer and a day's hunting; the begging friar; the pardoner with his wallet stuffed 'full of pardon come from Rome all hot'; the prioress with her lisp and *Amor vincit omnia* engraved on her brooch; the 'clerk of Oxenford' who loved his books better 'than robés rich, or fiddle or gay psaltery'; and the ploughman's brother, the poor parson:

A good man was ther of religióun,
And was a pooré Persoun of a toun;
But riche he was of holy thoght and werk.
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
That Cristés Gospel trewely woldé preche;
His parishens devoutly wolde he teche.

The professions were also of the company—the doctor of physic; the lawyer, who had often sat as justice of assize; and the pimply summoner who summoned offenders to the archdeacon's Court. There was the sailor and the wife of Bath, who could make cloth better than the weavers of Flanders—five husbands had she married, and she had made pilgrimages to Rome and thrice to Jerusalem. Five London burgesses, members of the crafts of haberdashers, upholsterers, carpenters, dyers, weavers made up the goodly company.

In the *Canterbury Tales* we see a Merry England through the eyes of a middle-class man who loved life but who exposed with gentle satire the weaker side of the religious practice of the times. Yet all was not well with England as Edward III sank to his grave, and the darker side of the picture is vividly portrayed by another poet, Langland.[1] The Church was losing its influence, and the discontents of the people were soon to show themselves in the Great Revolt of the peasants.

[1] See below, p. 238.



Canterbury Pilgrims (from the Ellesmere MS.). The cook, the shipman, and the Knight.

DATE SUMMARY: THE THREE EDWARDS
(1272–1377)

EDWARD I (1272–1307)

ENGLAND	WALES, SCOTLAND, AND FRANCE
1275 First Parliament	
Stat. Westminster I	
	1276–7 First Welsh War
	1277 Treaty of Conway
1278 Stat. Gloucester	
1279 Stat. Mortmain	
	1282–3 Second Welsh War
	1284 Stat. Rhuddlan
1285 Stat. Winchester I	
Stat. Westminster II	
	1286 Alexander III (Scot.) *d.*
1290 Expulsion of Jews	
	1292 John Balliol, King of Scots
1294 Roger Bacon *d.*	
1295 'Model' Parliament	
	1296 ⚔ Dunbar
1297 Confirmation of Charters	1297 ⚔ Stirling Bridge
	1301 Edward, Prince of Wales
	1305 Wallace captured
	1306 Robert Bruce, King of Scots

EDWARD II (1307–27)

ENGLAND	WALES, SCOTLAND, AND FRANCE
1311–22 Lords Ordainers	
1312 Murder of Gaveston	
	1314 ⚔ BANNOCKBURN
1322 Lancaster executed	
1327 Deposition of Edward II	

EDWARD III (1327–77)

ENGLAND	WALES, SCOTLAND, AND FRANCE
	1328 Treaty of Northampton
1330 Fall of Mortimer	1328–50 Philip VI (France)
	1333 ⚔ Halidon Hill
	1338 HUNDRED YEARS WAR begins
1340 Birth of Chaucer	1340 ⚔ Sluys
	1346 ⚔ Crécy
1348–9 BLACK DEATH	
1349–60 Statutes of Labourers	
	1356 ⚔ Poitiers
	1360 Treaty of Brétigni
1372–7 John of Gaunt in power	1371–90 Robert II (Scotland)
	1372 Black Prince returns from France
1376 Good Parliament	

XI

RICHARD II AND THE LANCASTRIANS

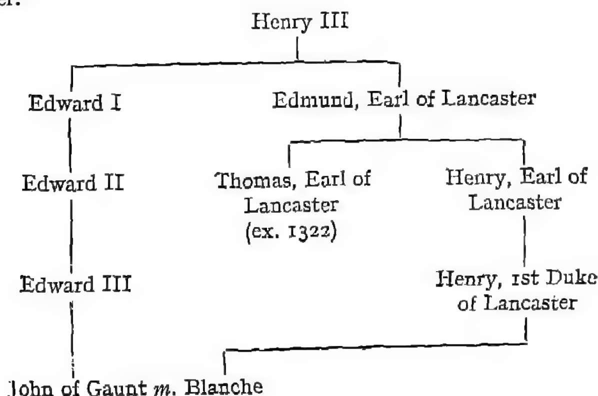
1. *John of Gaunt*

AFTER the retirement of the Prince of Wales from active affairs, the first man in England was his younger brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.[1] Gaunt had inherited great wealth by his marriage to the heiress of the House of Lancaster.[2] He also possessed complete control over the mind of his doting father, Edward III, now sunk into premature old age. Gaunt persuaded the king to dismiss his Chancellor, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, revered for his twin foundations of Winchester College and the 'New College' at Oxford. The duke then filled the chief offices of state with nominees of his own (1371). The House of Lancaster

John of Gaunt held undisputed power for five years, during which time his ministers grew rich by undisguised robbery and gross misappropriation of public funds. In France, matters could scarcely have gone worse. The alliance between the Rule of John of Gaunt 1372–7

[1] Edward III had six sons: Edward, Prince of Wales (the Black Prince), *d.* 1376; William, *d.* in infancy; Lionel, Duke of Clarence, *d.* 1368; John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; Edmund, Duke of York; and Thomas, Duke of Gloucester. The three elder sons died before their father.

[2]



French and the King of Castile soon bore fruit in a naval victory off Rochelle (1372), which destroyed England's sea-power, on which all else depended. After Rochelle, Edward III's continental empire fell to the ground. John of Gaunt conducted a raid through France, but only brought a fraction of his army safely to Bordeaux (1373). The French drove their enemies from Aquitaine, so that when at last the English consented to the Truce of Bruges (1375), nothing remained to them but Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne, with a strip of coast between the two latter towns.

English failure in France

Truce of Bruges, 1375

Protests against these disasters were made in Parliament. The 'Good Parliament' which met at the beginning of 1376 was in pugnacious mood. While the Commons dared not attack the great duke himself, they did not shrink from attacking his ministers. It was in this Parliament that the right of 'impeaching'[1] ministers of the Crown was first asserted by the House of Commons. Lord Latimer and Richard Lyons, who were notorious favourites of the duke, and who had grown rich out of the public distress, were impeached and condemned to the loss of their posts. It took no little courage thus to attack the duke's friends. The man who led the Commons was Peter de la Mare, their Speaker—then a speaker both in deed and in name. John of Gaunt bowed to the storm and bided his time. That same summer the Black Prince died, and Gaunt's hold over his father's feeble mind became greater than ever. A new Parliament met the next year (1377). Gaunt had carefully packed it with his own friends, and he at once proceeded to undo the work of the 'Good Parliament'. Latimer and Richard Lyons were restored to favour, and Peter de la Mare was thrown into prison.

The Good Parliament 1376

Death of the Black Prince, 1376

Soon after Parliament met, the bishops summoned the famous Oxford reformer, John Wycliffe, to appear before them at St. Paul's. Wycliffe—whose career we shall outline presently—was then engaged in an attack on Church property, and in this attack he had the whole-hearted support of John of Gaunt. A confiscation of church lands, the duke thought,

Trial of Wycliffe at St. Paul's 1377

[1] Impeachment, i.e. 'the judicial process by which any man, from the rank of a peer downwards, may be tried before the House of Lords at the instance of the House of Commons'.

would be a useful method of repairing the losses of the national exchequer. When John Wycliffe came before the bishops at St. Paul's, the great Duke of Lancaster walked by his side. Hard words passed between Gaunt and Courtenay, Bishop of London, a man as hot-headed as himself. It was a strange 'trial'. Hardly had the proceedings begun, when the London crowd, incensed at the insolence of Gaunt towards their bishop, broke up the meeting, which dispersed in confusion.

Death of Edward III 1377

In June 1377 the old king died; and the accession of his grandson, Richard II, brought John of Gaunt's power to an end. Ambitious as he was, it is to his credit that he was loyal to his young nephew, who was then only ten years old. The duke was excluded from the new government, which was formed from among the friends of the king's mother, the Dowager Princess of Wales.

Richard II 1377–99

French raids on England

It was a dark outlook for the new reign. The loss of England's sea-power had had dire consequences. A few weeks after Richard came to the throne, the French launched a new series of attacks against the English coast, such as England had not known for a generation. They attacked the Sussex towns, burnt Rye and Hastings, and reached a point as far inland as Lewes; they landed in the Isle of Wight, and burnt several places. Finally they made a raid up the Thames estuary. The people of England, though strangely enough they were not tired of the war, were tired of the taxation which brought no return in victories. The Government, as usual, were blamed; and, next to the Government, the Church came in for a large share of unpopularity.

The Church, still rich and powerful, was losing its hold over men's minds. An outcry against the Church's wealth was raised; and in this matter the House of Commons, John of Gaunt, and John Wycliffe were of one opinion.

2. *Wycliffe and the Church*

Probably nothing did so much to undermine the authority of the Popes in England as their seventy years' residence at Avignon. There the Popes, themselves Frenchmen and the tools of French policy, lived in retirement. The Commons of the Good Parliament spoke in indignation of the 'sinful city

of Avenon'; and the first Parliament of Richard II seriously considered the withholding of 'the treasure of the Realm, that it be not sent to foreign parts, although the Pope demand it'.[1]

The Babylonian Captivity 1309–78

The 'Babylonian Captivity'[2] (1309–78), as the residence of the Popes at Avignon was called, was succeeded by an even worse state of affairs. For it was followed by the 'Great Schism'

The Great Schism 1378–1415

(1378–1415) of the Church, during which period there were rival lines of French and Italian Popes, and for nearly forty years Europe beheld the unworthy spectacle of two Popes denouncing each other as Antichrist and excommunicating each other's followers.

Apart from this lowering of the Papal prestige, there were other symptoms in the fourteenth century of the decline of the Church's power. The day of the Saints was passed; the Church

The Church becomes unpopular

no longer commanded the reverence of the laity. Only the 'poor parson of the town' earns a word of praise from Chaucer.[3] But the parson was poor; it was the wealth of the higher clergy and the monks that laid them open to criticism. There was no doubt some truth in Chaucer's picture of monkish indulgence:

> I saw his slevés purfled at the hand
> With grys[4], and that the fynest of the land . . .
> He was a lord ful fat and in good point . . .
> His botés souple, his hors in greet estat . . .
> A fat swan loved he best of any roast.

Chaucer's lines reflect the spirit of his age. The attack on the Church became general. Proposals were made in Parliament for the disendowment of the Church in England; it was openly said that lands which pious lords in past times had given to churches and monasteries should be returned to their descen-

[1] In 1351 the first Statute of Provisors forbade Papal patronage in the English Church and aimed at preventing the Pope from 'providing' his supporters with English benefices; and in 1353 the first Statute of Praemunire (reissued and strengthened in 1393) forbade appeals in law cases to be made to foreign courts (e.g. the papal court at Avignon), and those who did so were threatened with the penalties of *praemunire*, i.e. forfeiture of goods and outlawry.

[2] The term is taken from the Babylonian Captivity of the Jews.

[3] See above, p. 229.

[4] grys = grey fur.

dants. In this attack Wycliffe took a leading part; hence he received the powerful aid of Gaunt and others in his conflict with the bishops.

John Wycliffe was a Yorkshireman, born near Richmond (1320). He had come up to Oxford as a youth, and remained there as a teacher. He earned a great reputation for scholarship in Oxford, and was at one time Master of Balliol. When he was about fifty, this Oxford don began to launch his famous attack on the Church's wealth and on the lives of the clergy in general. But Wycliffe himself had not been blameless—at one time he held more absentee livings than any one else in England.

John Wycliffe 1320–84

His attack was twofold. The bishops and many of the clergy, he said, were immersed in affairs of state and took posts under the government which should more properly have been filled by laymen. Secondly, the Church was rich, rich beyond the dreams of her early benefactors, rich indeed beyond the example of the Apostles and the early Christians. His insistence on the need for 'apostolic poverty' led Wycliffe at first to except the friars from his censures; later, however, the friars became his bitterest enemies.

His first attack on the Church

The bishops were not prepared to submit to the scathing criticism of this learned Oxford doctor. They summoned him to a trial at St. Paul's (1377) which, as we have seen, ended in a fiasco. But since Wycliffe persisted in his charges, the Pope issued a Bull (or letter) against him. When the bishops, acting on this, again summoned the reformer to appear before them, he sheltered for a time in Oxford, where the Chancellor refused to arrest him. When at last he ventured to London, his trial at Lambeth was a repetition of that at St. Paul's. Again he was given the protection of the highest in the land, for the Dowager Princess of Wales forbade the bishops to punish him. Again the London mob interfered—this time in his favour—and broke up the proceedings (1378).

Second Trial of Wycliffe 1378

Within two years of this triumph, Wycliffe's position had entirely changed. He developed heretical opinions which alienated his former supporters and the mass of his countrymen. This time his attack was directed, not against the wealth of the Church, but against one of its most fundamental doctrines. Wycliffe, in fact, attacked the Catholic doctrine of

His later heresy

Transubstantiation,[1] which he now declared had been invented by the clergy in order to increase their own importance.

Wycliffe's heresy had a very different effect from his first popular arguments. It brought down on him the wrath, not only of the bishops but of the friars, whom the reformer now accused of being the chief agents in spreading superstition among the people. Above all it alienated his powerful friends, who were shocked at this new departure. The Peasants' Revolt[2] diverted attention from him for a time; but when that disturbance was over, the Duke of Lancaster rode down to Oxford, and commanded the reformer to desist from his assault on Church doctrine. Wycliffe refused; whereupon the Duke severed his connexion with him.

Wycliffe loses powerful friends

Wycliffe meanwhile had undertaken two enterprises fraught with great consequences. During 1380 or 1381, he began to send certain of his disciples, known as the Poor Preachers, to spread his doctrines throughout England. These men were the first 'Lollards' whose successors were so violently persecuted in the next generation.[3] These first preachers were nearly all members of the University; and their mission had a considerable influence. They were not bound by any vows, as the friars were, though, like their enemies, they wore long gowns of a uniform colour—brown.

The Poor Preachers (Lollards)

Besides starting this preaching crusade, the indefatigable Wycliffe began (1380) a translation of the whole Bible from Latin into English, so that the words of the Scriptures should be within the reach of the common people. This undertaking incensed the clergy; and the monkish chronicler complains that 'the pearl of the Gospel is cast abroad and trampled on by swine'.

Translation of the Bible 1380

Early in 1382 the Archbishop of Canterbury commanded the Chancellor of Oxford to expel all heretics from the Univer-

[1] Transubstantiation, 'the conversion in the Eucharist of the whole substance of the bread into the body and of the wine into the blood of Christ, only the appearance . . . of bread and wine remaining; according to the doctrine of the Roman Church' (*O.E.D.*).

[2] See Sect. 3.

[3] See next chapter. The name 'Lollard' was given to those who 'lolled', i.e. mumbled, prayers, as the Wycliffites were said to do.

sity; the result of this was that Oxford ceased to be the headquarters of the new movement. Several of Wycliffe's followers were brought to trial and made to recant their opinions. Nevertheless, the persecution during Richard II's reign was not violent. The king himself,[1] and still more his queen, Anne of Bohemia, were thought to look with tolerance on the Lollards. It was through members of the queen's household that the teaching of Wycliffe was taken to Bohemia. It was afterwards spread throughout that country by Wycliffe's greatest disciple, John Huss, who was burnt to death for his opinions (1415).

Trials of the Lollards

John Huss

No attack was made on the reformer himself. He was suffered to end his days in peace, and lived the last two years of his life at his rectory at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. There he died (1384), and there his bones rested till Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, caused them to be exhumed, burned, and cast into the river (1428). Wycliffe was one of the most remarkable figures of the later Middle Ages. His great learning and accurate scholarship, which even his enemies acknowledged, would in any case have entitled him to high praise. But more than this, he had the quality of following his opinions to their logical conclusion, and the courage to stand by them wherever they led him. Had the Church listened to his voice, instead of condemning him and persecuting his followers, it might have reformed itself in time. But Englishmen change their beliefs reluctantly, as was shown by the course of the Reformation, a century and a half after Wycliffe's death.

Death of Wycliffe 1384

3. *The Peasants' Revolt*

(i) *A Century of Unrest.*

When Richard II had been on the throne four years, England was shaken by the greatest labour upheaval in her history. Though the disasters of the French wars played their part in fomenting the general discontent, there were deeper causes at work. The Peasants' Revolt was, in its essence, a revolt against serfdom. For at least a century before 1381, the manorial system had been breaking up. This change was brought about

[1] The king denounced the Lollards in public, but he kept several prominent Lollards in his household.

chiefly through the agency of money. Since the growth of towns and trade, money had come much more into general circulation. Thrifty peasants sold their produce and saved enough money to buy from their lords their freedom from labour services. This process was known as 'commutation' of labour. With money, too, the lords could employ hired labourers, instead of forcing the old services on a peasantry that was beginning to demand its freedom.

New labour conditions

By 1381 to be a serf came to be regarded as degrading; and, before that date, we read that serfs had, in some places, formed themselves into unions in order to demand their freedom. A statute of 1377 began by complaining that some villeins

> 'affirm them to be quite and utterly discharged of all manner of serfage . . . and will not suffer any justice to be made upon them; but do menace the ministers of their lords of life and member, and, which is more, gather themselves together in great routs and agree by such confederacy that every one shall aid other to resist their lords with strong hand.'

We see, then, that with the weakening of the old manor system there were two types of peasant on the land—the new wage-earner and the villein as of old. Further, the presence of the free labourers was a perpetual incitement to the villeins to rid themselves of their bondage. The root of the trouble, therefore, was not that the manor system was breaking up, but that it was not breaking up fast enough.

Manor System breaks up

The penalties of the Statutes of Labourers (1349, &c.) added to the general discontent. Free labourers roamed about the country in search of higher wages; some of them, threatened with the penalties of the law for doing so, took to the woods as outlaws. There they were joined by villeins who had fled from a bondage that had become no longer endurable. The old manor life, once so secure in the tradition of centuries, had gone for ever.

England was ripe for rebellion in the latter years of the fourteenth century, and the Great Revolt was due to the various grievances of the age. It was a bitter, discontented country, as we look back to it through the eyes of William Langland, the poet of the people, and author of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*. Langland, who was born near Malvern, but lived for

Langland, *Piers Plowman*

many years in London, was a poor man all his life, unlike Chaucer, who was accustomed to the gay life of the Court. He was a visionary who dreamed that the wrongs of England should some day be righted, though he knew not how. Like Chaucer, the poet gathers his figures together—the traders, the craftsmen, the minstrels and jugglers, the villeins and freemen, the monks and friars, the pilgrims 'with their wenches after'. But Langland's pilgrimage is not to Canterbury, but to Truth. The guide whom he seeks is honest Piers Plowman, of whose dismal condition the poet says: 'As I went by the way, I saw a poor man hanging on to the plough. His coat was of a coarse stuff; his hood was full of holes and his hair stuck out of it; and as he trod the soil his toes peered out of his worn shoes.' The poet warns the lords not to oppress the poor labourer. 'Though he be thine underling now, well may hap in Heaven that he be worthier set and with more bliss than thou'—and he closes on a note of despair, for he thinks things will fare worse in England ere they get better. The second edition (1377) of the poem sounded like a prophecy of the Great Revolt.

A spirit of unrest usually produces leaders, and so it was in England in the thirteen-eighties. The best known leader of the people was John Ball, the 'mad priest' of Kent and the first English socialist who, according to the courtly Froissart, preached communism to the workers: **John Ball**

'My good friends', Ball would say, 'things cannot go well in England, nor ever will until everything shall be in common; when there shall be neither vassal nor lord and all distinctions levelled, when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. For what reason do they thus hold us in bondage? Are we not all descended from the same parents, Adam and Eve? . . . They are clothed in velvet and fine stuffs . . . while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have handsome seats and manors, when we must brave the wind and rain in our labours in the field.' **His Sermon**

But, in spite of Froissart's account, communism never became a prominent idea with the peasants. They desired not to make 'all level' with themselves, but something much simpler and definite—the ending of villeinage and the raising of wages for the free workman.[1]

[1] Even John Wycliffe's attack on Church property played its part in

(ii) *The Revolt of 1381.*

The chief ministers in the winter of the year 1380 were Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, the Treasurer. Sudbury was a well-meaning man, quite incapable of dealing with the storm which was about to burst on the nation. It was his colleague, Hales, who was responsible for a measure which actually started the revolt. Parliament decided, in order to meet the expenses of the French War, to levy a poll-tax of a shilling (per head or poll) on all persons over fifteen throughout the country.[1] When the results of the tax came in, it was found that many false returns had been made. The government, thus defrauded, empowered a commission to tour the country to inquire into the poll-tax returns[2] and, if necessary, to collect any further sums due. One such commissioner, in the last days of May 1381, rode down to Brentwood in Essex. The peasants there fell on him and drove him out of the town. Soon the whole of Essex was roused to open rebellion. Messengers rode from village to village rousing the peasants and bidding them assemble in their thousands. By the end of a week (8 June) the rebellion had assumed serious proportions. Manor houses were pillaged, and the manor court rolls—recording the villeins' services—were seized and burnt.

Sudbury and Hales

The Poll-Tax, 1381

Outbreak of the Revolt

Essex

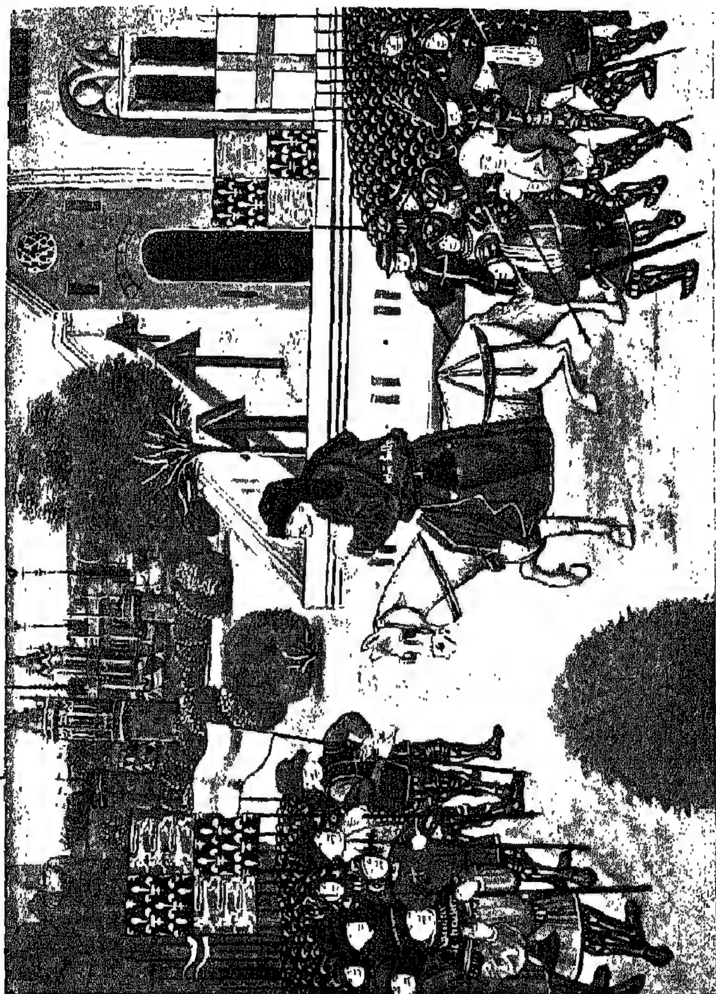
The king's Council made no effort to check the rising in Essex. Meanwhile an even more formidable rebellion had broken out in Kent; and this, together with smaller outbreaks in other counties, suggests that the whole revolt was planned beforehand. In Kent the rebel army, several thousand strong, entered Rochester, Maidstone, and Canterbury. At Maidstone they released John Ball, who had been imprisoned there since the previous April. It was probably after his release that John

Kent

the agitation—much against the design of its author. Wycliffe had condemned the payment of tithes to the Church; it was easy enough for a popular agitator or preacher to take hold of his words and say that, since to pay tithes was wrong, it was wrong also to pay manorial services to the lords.

[1] There had been a similar tax in 1377.

[2] The commissioners soon discovered frauds on a large scale, e.g. in Suffolk 13,000 persons had entirely evaded the tax.



John Ball preaching to Wat Tyler and the rebels (from a manuscript at the British Museum).

Ball issued his famous letters to all the rebels in England. 'John Ball greeteth you well all, and doth you to understand that he hath rongen your bell. Now right and might, will and skill. Now God haste you in every dele. Time it is that Our Lady help you with her Son, and her Son with His Father, to make in the name of the Trinity a good end to what has been begun. Amen.'

Wat Tyler

It was in Kent, too, that another famous rebel leader came to the front—Wat Tyler. His previous history is a doubtful record; but he had the qualities necessary to lead a mob—a bold and resourceful personality, a ready tongue, and the courage of his convictions.

The rebels on Blackheath

The rebels now marched on London. By the night of 12 June those of Kent were encamped on Blackheath, those of Essex at Mile End, to the east of the city. It was on Blackheath that John Ball preached his most famous sermon, taking as his text the rhyme:

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

The rebels in London 13 June 1381

Next morning (13 June) the drawbridge of London Bridge was lowered by sympathizers inside the city, and the rebels poured in. In the city they broke open the prisons, and soon all sorts of ruffians joined their ranks for the sake of plunder. For two days London was given over to anarchy. The worst sufferers were the Flemish traders—popularly supposed to be draining the wealth of England—the adherents of John of Gaunt, and the lawyers. The duke, fortunately for him, was absent in Scotland, but his servants were slaughtered at sight, and his magnificent palace, the Savoy in the Strand, given to the flames. The Temple, head-quarters of the lawyers, was laid in ruins, and its library burnt.

Mile End 14 June

That evening the young king sadly watched the scene from a window in the Tower, while the flames of the Savoy, farther up the river, lit up the night. His mother and his Chancellor, the ineffective Sudbury, were with him; the most resolute man in the royal party was Walworth, the mayor of London. A council was held that night and it was determined that tne king should meet the rebels at Mile End. It was hoped that, while

he was conferring with them, the Chancellor and Treasurer, the special objects of the rebels' hatred, would be able to escape from the Tower. But this manœuvre failed. Probably the soldiers on duty at the Tower favoured the rebels; at any rate that strong fortress was stormed, and the mob poured in. Archbishop Sudbury and his colleague Hales were in the chapel of the White Tower; both now awaited death. Sudbury may have been a poor Chancellor and a weak Archbishop, but in this, his supreme hour, he stood unflinching. He faced the mob with a courage worthy of Becket. 'Here am I, your archbishop and no traitor,' he said. But they dragged him away and struck off his head on Tower Hill. The Treasurer Hales suffered a like fate.

Murder of Sudbury

The next evening, Saturday, 15 June, the king decided once more to confer with the rebels. He rode first to Westminster Abbey, where the monks came out in sorrowful procession to meet him. He dismounted and kissed the cross they carried. The royal party entered the Abbey, where Richard confessed his boyish sins. Then he rode forth to surmount the greatest crisis of the century. He was not yet fifteen years old.

The place of conference this time was the market square at Smithfield, near St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The rebels were drawn up on one side of the square; the king and his small retinue—among whom was the Mayor, Walworth—faced them on the other. Wat Tyler came forward and made a long speech. When he had done, a Kentishman in the king's guard called out that he recognized him for a notorious thief in his county. Tyler, angered at the charge, rode forward into the midst of the royal party, at the same time drawing his dagger. He tried to stab Walworth, but the mayor struck at him and wounded him with his sword. Then John Standwich, a squire of the king's, ran Tyler through the body. The rebel just managed to turn his horse and make for his own party; then he rolled off his saddle in the middle of the square, dead or dying.

Smithfield 15 June

Death of Tyler

When the rebels saw the horse, trailing its rider, dash across the square, they let forth a roar of anger. Bows were bent at the king's party; in another moment all would have been over with Richard and his small guard. But at that moment the boy rode forward alone, showing not the slightest trace of

Heroism of Richard II

fear. He faced the angry rebels. 'What is it, my people?' he said, 'what do ye seek? Do not shoot your king. I will be your captain and your leader. Only follow me into yonder fields, and you shall have all that you desire.' Then, with a courage at least as great as that which he had just shown, he led the rebels away to some fields near St. John's Hospital, Clerkenwell, where the buildings, which the mob had destroyed, still smouldered.

This was the turning-point in the rebellion. While the king was busy granting charters of freedom at Clerkenwell, Walworth and his friends dashed back to London and rallied the loyal citizens. A band of soldiers was also collected and marched to Clerkenwell. There the rebels were surrounded and the king rescued.

Night was falling as Richard re-entered the Garde Robe. His mother greeted him with tears—'Ah, fair son, what pain and anguish have I had for you this day!' 'Certes, madam,' he replied, 'I know it well. But now rejoice and praise God, for to-day I have recovered my heritage that was lost, and the realm of England.' It was true: the revolt was over. Next day order was restored in the city. The peasants were persuaded to leave London, taking with them, poor dupes, the royal charters of pardon and freedom.

The rebels leave London

Next to Essex and Kent, where the rising had begun, the flames of revolt blazed most fiercely in East Anglia. At Bury St. Edmunds the rebels beheaded the prior of the monastery and also the Lord Chief Justice of England (who happened to be in Bury), and then terrified the monks into granting them charters of liberty. At St. Albans the townspeople rose against their lord, the abbot, and threatened, if he did not grant their demands, to pull down the Abbey and put the monks to death. The abbot was forced to sign a charter recognizing their liberty.

St. Albans

Litster in Norfolk

In Norfolk the leader of the peasants was Geoffrey Litster, a dyer, who forced captive knights to wait on him while he dined in Norwich Castle, after which his followers called him the 'King of the Commons'. The whole of Norfolk was soon ablaze with revolt, while King Geoffrey ruled in Norwich. The authorities seemed paralysed, until one resolute man, Henry

Despencer, the fighting Bishop of Norwich, with a small but determined band of retainers, defeated the rebels at North Walsham, and captured their leader. The 'King of the Commons' was forthwith hanged, after which the Norfolk rebellion collapsed.

Meanwhile the revolt in London had collapsed, for the mob, thinking that their demands had been granted, had dispersed. It was time to think of punishment. Chief Justice Tresillian conducted an assize through the counties most affected. King Richard went with him; at Waltham, he made it plain to a deputation of peasants that their so-called charters of liberty were worthless: 'Villeins ye are, and villeins ye shall remain.' Parliament (mainly lords of lands) could not allow the king to keep his promises and so give away the lords' property. Tresillian proceeded to punish with great severity: it was said that he spared none who came before him, and that he was avenging his profession and his murdered predecessor. The hanging of rebels went on apace.

Revocation of the Charters

One at least of the peasant leaders—William Grindecobbe, the St. Albans leader—must arouse our admiration. 'Friends,' he said before he died, 'who have won for yourselves so short a breath of freedom, hold fast while you can, and have no thought for me or what I may suffer. For if I die for the cause of liberty, I think myself happy to end my life as a martyr.'

And so, amid bloodshed and broken promises, the Great Revolt of the Peasants was quelled. Serfdom did not immediately disappear, for the lords, following the lead of king and Parliament, re-asserted their rights. Nevertheless the old system of servile labour did die out in England, and largely within fifty years of the Revolt. It came to an end through the gradual working out of changes which had been in progress for a hundred years. And after the Revolt it was no longer worth while for the lord to preserve serfdom. Instead he found it better to lease land to a 'farmer' for a money 'rent' (Latin, *firma*), to be worked by free wage-earners—and this was the origin of our modern landlord-farmer-labourer system of agriculture. In the fifteenth century a free peasantry was the rule rather than the exception. In this respect England was in

Disappearance of Serfdom

advance of many European countries: in France serfdom lasted till the great Revolution, and in Russia till the middle of the nineteenth century.

4. *Richard II and the Lords*

Boys grew early to man's estate in the Middle Ages. At fifteen Richard II was married (1382) to Anne, sister of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia and King of the Romans (i.e. Emperor-elect). At seventeen he took over the reins of government himself and appointed his own ministers.

Richard's Chancellor (1384) was Michael de la Pole, an old servant of Edward III, whom Richard made Earl of Suffolk. One of his chief councillors was a young man a few years older than himself, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. The Chancellor believed—and he impressed his belief on the king—that peace with France was a necessary preliminary to the good government of England. He also believed that the power of the great nobles, particularly that of the king's uncles, should be subjected to the royal authority. Richard, who happened to have an autocratic temper, was a willing pupil of such a teacher.

De la Pole and de Vere

Of the king's three uncles the eldest and most formidable, John of Gaunt, left England for three years (1386–9). He sailed away to wage a private war in Spain, in support of his claim to the Spanish throne.[1] Gaunt's ambitions in the Peninsula resembled the proverbial castles in Spain: they were founded on air. But his departure cleared the ground in England for his ambitious youngest brother, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. The other brother, Edmund, Duke of York, counted for nothing. Gloucester was an overbearing and unscrupulous man, the worst type of turbulent noble of the period. He was completely out of sympathy with his nephew, and intended, at the first opportunity, to take the government out of his hands.

Gloucester

Richard's quarrels with the Commons hastened this end. The king was always in money difficulties, and Parliament was always complaining that the king's personal expenses were too heavy. A more than usually fractious Parliament (1386) and

[1] In right of his second wife, Blanche of Castile, daughter of the deposed Pedro the Cruel.

a threatened French invasion on the south coast gave Gloucester his opportunity. He demanded that the king should be put under the tutelage of a council headed by himself. Parliament, glad of this opportunity of limiting the royal power, backed his demands, and impeached the Chancellor. Gloucester had a stormy interview with his nephew, and reminded him that kings could be deposed, citing the ominous example of Edward II. With rage in his heart the young king bowed before the storm. But only for the moment. As soon as Parliament was dissolved, he collected his friends together, bade them raise troops, and prepare for civil war. But Gloucester and his friends were prepared too. The struggle was short and sharp. De Vere's army was scattered at Radcot Bridge (1387); he fled to France. Gloucester's party formally 'appealed' for treason the Chancellor, de Vere, and the other chief advisers of the king. Richard, seeing that his cause was hopeless, gave way and submitted to his uncle.

Gloucester's Rebellion

Radcot Bridge, 1387

The Lords Appellant,[1] as those who had appealed the king's friends for treason called themselves, now took control. These lords were those overmighty subjects—Gloucester himself, his friends the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and two younger men, Henry, Earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, who had been a friend of Richard's boyhood. Parliament assembled (1388). It well earned the name of the Merciless Parliament, since it hunted down all the king's supporters. The two principal offenders, Suffolk and de Vere, escaped safely to France, but Tressilian, the Lord Chief Justice, the mayor of London, and many lesser offenders, were got rid of by a series of judicial murders. Even Sir Simon Burley, the king's tutor, was beheaded. Richard never forgave the men who banished and murdered his friends. Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, Derby—he vowed, we may believe, to bring these five men to destruction. With the fateful exception of his cousin Derby, he lived to be revenged on them all.

The Lords Appellant 1387

Merciless Parliament 1388

The rule of the Lords Appellant lasted only a year. One day in 1389 Richard walked into the council chamber and asked

[1] Appellant, i.e. one who 'appeals' (accuses) another of treason or felony.

his uncle how old he was. 'Twenty-three,' replied Gloucester. In that case, Richard remarked, he was quite old enough to take the government into his own hands. Gloucester seems to have retired without making much protest. His position was considerably weakened by the return of his brother Lancaster from Spain, and by the fact that the elder duke and Richard were now friends. For the following eight years the king governed peaceably and well. He made a truce with France which was converted into a permanent peace (1396), and was the greatest blessing which he conferred on his subjects. The peace was celebrated by the king's marriage to Isabella, the eight-year-old daughter of Charles VI. Richard's first dearly loved wife, Anne of Bohemia, had died two years previously.

Good Government of Richard 1389–97

Peace with France, 1396

Was it the loss of this beloved companion that turned the king's mind to strange courses? We cannot say; certain it is that soon afterwards he abandoned his career of quiet rule, and changed from a model king into a despot by a series of swift and sudden acts. First he struck at Gloucester. He went down and arrested his uncle in person; the duke, taken off his guard, was hurried off to Calais, and there murdered (1397). Simultaneously Warwick and Arundel were accused of treason for their behaviour ten years before as Lords Appellant. Warwick's life was spared, but his property was declared forfeit; Arundel went to the block. Archbishop Arundel, the earl's brother, was banished from the realm. No action was then taken against Nottingham and Derby, who indeed acted with the king, and were consequently created dukes of Norfolk and Hereford. They imagined that Richard had forgotten.

Murder of Gloucester 1397

Then, for two years, Richard governed according to his will. There was no further bloodshed, but such was the king's strange temper that no man felt safe. Parliament, too weak to oppose the party in power, was submissive. The members even went so far as to delegate their powers to a small committee, packed with the king's favourites. Richard then found an opportunity of getting rid of two more dangerous members of the nobility—the two remaining Appellants of 1397. Thomas of Norfolk and Henry of Hereford quarrelled; Norfolk accused the royal duke of treason. Just as they were about to fight a duel at Coventry the king stopped the fight and banished them

both: Hereford for six years, Norfolk for life (1398). The king now felt safe—so safe that he began to grow careless. Banishment of Hereford 1398

In February 1399 John of Gaunt died. Richard, despite the undoubted rights of the banished Hereford—now Duke of Lancaster—seized the whole of the vast Lancaster property. This act of gross injustice roused the lords of the realm who began to correspond with Henry of Lancaster. That astute personage waited for five months and then judged that the time was ripe for an invasion of England. While Richard was across St. George's Channel, quelling Irish rebels, Lancaster landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and was at once joined by the Earl of Northumberland, the greatest magnate of the North, and his son Harry Percy. Other nobles followed suit, bringing with them their armed followers. The king returned from Ireland, and landed in Wales. A force was raised for him there and another in Cheshire, but he made little attempt to rally his followers. He seems to have been dispirited by the news of Lancaster's great following in England; a curious apathy seized him, which Shakespeare has portrayed in a famous scene:

Death of John of Gaunt, 1399

Henry of Lancaster invades England

> Say, is my kingdom lost? Why, 'twas my care;
> And what loss is it to be rid of care?
> Strives Bolingbroke to be as great as we?[1]
> Greater he shall not be: if he serve God
> We'll serve Him too, and be his fellow so;
> Revolt our subjects? That we cannot mend;
> They break their faith to God as well as us:
> Cry woe, destruction, ruin, loss, decay;
> The worst is death, and death will have his day.[2]

Finally Richard retired to Conway Castle, where he surrendered to his cousin. The wily duke, who had hitherto given out that he came but to claim his rightful estates, now laid aside these pretences and openly claimed the Crown. Richard was brought to London, lodged in the Tower, and forced to abdicate. The Houses of Parliament were summoned, and Richard's abdication was read to them. The Duke of Lancaster then formally claimed the Crown, and was hailed king as Henry IV.

Abdication of Richard II, 1399

[1] Bolingbroke (Lincolnshire) was Henry's birthplace.

[2] Shakespeare, *Richard II*, Act III, Scene ii.

TABLE SHOWING DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD III

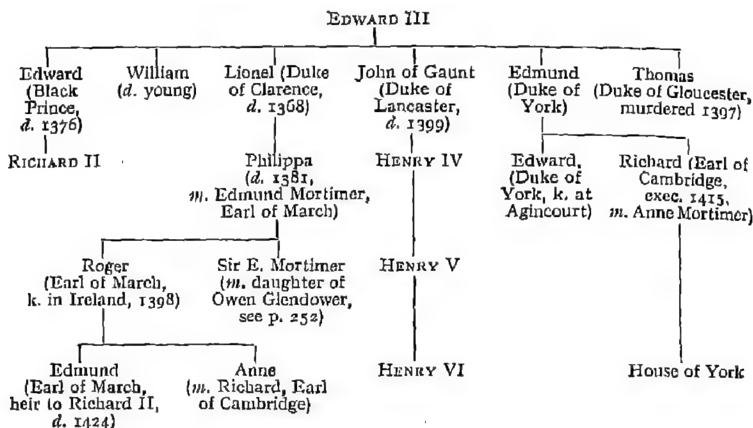
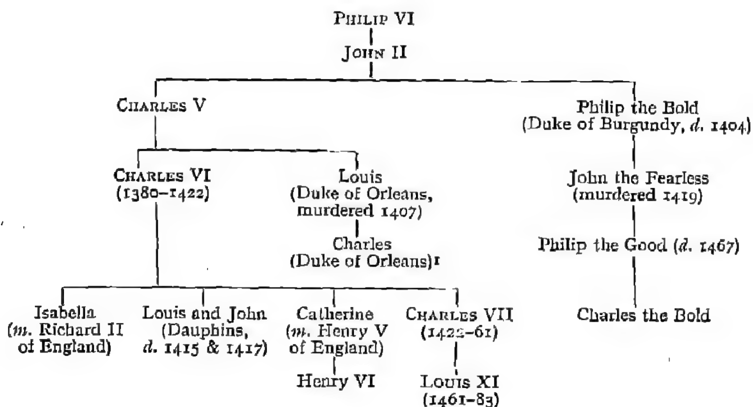


TABLE SHOWING VALOIS KINGS AND DUKES OF BURGUNDY



[1] Captured at Agincourt. Prisoner in England for twenty-five years.

The character of Henry's usurpation is important. He had no hereditary right to the throne, for, even setting aside Richard, the rightful heir[1] was the Earl of March, descended from the third son of Edward III. Lancaster, therefore, was an 'elected' king; he had no 'divine right' to his position. He owed his throne to his popularity with a majority of his countrymen who were tired of Richard's vagaries; he owed it, in particular, to the support of the Houses of Parliament. For this support the new king had to pay by sharing the supreme power with Parliament. **Henry's usurpation**

As for King Richard, he was taken away from London, separated from his friends, and imprisoned in Pomfret Castle. Next year he was murdered by Henry's orders (1400). His character is somewhat of a puzzle. Intellectually he was as much the superior of his usurping cousin as he was of the brutal Gloucester. That he could govern well is shown by his eight years of quiet rule (1389–97). But he was variable as the wind. The success of his stroke against the Gloucester faction seems to have turned his head. His two years' despotism alienated all classes of his subjects—but the king seems either not to have understood or not to have cared. Then comes the sudden collapse—the pitiful weakness which Shakespeare so vividly portrays in *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second.* Did he think, as Shakespeare makes him say, that **Murder of Richard II 1400**

> God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay
> A glorious angel

who should withstand his enemies—even his cousin of Lancaster? He passes from the scene; and a wiser, though not a better, man takes his place.

5. *Henry IV (1399–1413)*

Henry IV, the first of the three kings of the House of Lancaster, was not a very attractive character. He was a solid-looking man with a good head for business and not over scrupulous. He knew how to win a throne by striking down a feeble adversary; and, what is more, he knew how to keep it by making **Henry IV 1399–1413**

[1] See Table, opposite.

tactful concessions to the right people. The crown which he had won was no joy to him; Shakespeare's 'Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown' was applied, most rightly, to Henry IV. His reign may be divided into two halves. During the first the king was harassed by rebellions; during the second by constant ill health and the ambitions of his heir. These two divisions can be studied in dramatic form in the two parts of Shakespeare's *King Henry the Fourth*.

Rebellions against Henry IV

There were four short rebellions in England during the first nine years of Henry's reign; and a longer one in Wales, which lasted most of that period. The first rebellion in England broke out before Richard II was dead. It was led by his half-brother the Earl of Huntingdon and his nephew, the Earl of Kent. The plot was betrayed to Henry, and the rebels taken and executed (1400). The discovery of this plot was followed by the murder of Richard.

Owen Glendower

Scarcely had this revolt been crushed, when all Wales was in flame with the rising of Owen Glendower. Glendower was a Welsh landowner of Sycharth, near Corwen, and a person of learning and distinction. His rebellion began as a minor quarrel with the king, but soon assumed considerable dimensions. Glendower stirred up the old Welsh desire for freedom which had been slumbering for a hundred years. He assumed the ancient title of Prince of Wales (1401). He raised the old standard of the Principality—a golden dragon on a silver ground—and within two years had stirred all Wales to revolt and captured the royal castles as far south as Cardiganshire. He was joined by Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the boy Earl of March, the rightful heir to Richard II. Mortimer had been sent to fight the Welshman, but was captured by Owen, made peace with his captor, and married his daughter (1402).

Prince of Wales, 1401

While Wales was thus lost to Henry, another serious rebellion broke out in the north of England. The Earl of Northumberland, that 'ladder wherewithal the mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne', was dissatisfied with his share of the spoils.

Thou shalt think
Though he divide the realm and give thee half,
It is too little, helping him to all. . . .[1]

[1] *King Richard II*, Act v, Sc. i.

It so happened that Northumberland's son, Henry Percy, known as 'Hotspur', had recently captured an important Scottish nobleman, Earl Douglas, at the battle of Homildon Hill (1402). The king, however, claimed the prisoner, and refused to allow the Percys to ransom him. The result was that, like Mortimer, the Percys sided with the enemy. They made terms with their prisoner, and agreed to join with him and with Glendower in an attempt to depose Henry. Hotspur, therefore, raised an army and marched towards Wales. Unfortunately for his schemes, Glendower was right in the south of Wales: he took Carmarthen on the very day Hotspur started his march. The king marched north, accompanied by his son, Prince Henry: the armies met at Shrewsbury, where Hotspur was defeated and slain (1403). Northumberland himself, who had kept out of the fight, was imprisoned for six months, then released and pardoned. Glendower kept up his resistance for several years; but the Welsh rising was eventually put down in a series of campaigns conducted by Henry, Prince of Wales. Owen Glendower, after many adventures, died in obscurity.

Hotspur

Shrewsbury 1403

The next rebellion was that of the Earl of Nottingham, son of the Thomas Mowbray whom Richard had banished in 1398; his chief supporter was Scrope, Archbishop of York. This rising was easily suppressed, and the two chief rebels captured. They were given a summary trial—without evidence heard, and without any chance to defend themselves—and both were hurried to instant execution (1405). A feeble protest from the Pope followed Scrope's death, but Henry took no notice—a fact which said much for the decline of the Church's power since Becket's day. Henry II, the greatest prince in western Europe, had to do penance in sackcloth for the murder of Becket. Henry IV, a far lesser man, and a mere usurper on a tottering throne, could with impunity execute an archbishop after a mock trial. The last rebellion of the reign was in the north again. Old Northumberland stirred up trouble once more; this time he was slain at Bramham Moor (1408). This was the last baronial revolt in England until the Wars of the Roses.

Execution of Archbishop of York, 1405.

The most important aspect of Henry's reign was the growth of the influence of Parliament. The king was invariably short

Influence of Parliament

of money; the many rebellions, and the campaigns against Owen Glendower, all entailed expenditure. He was forced, therefore, to hold frequent Parliaments in order to ask for supplies. Parliament was not slow to take advantage of this state of affairs. The Parliament of 1406 persuaded the king to accede to a long petition of 31 articles, which bound him to consult a council, controlled by Parliament, before taking any important decision. But the lords were too irresponsible and too selfish to be good rulers of England, the commons too inexperienced. Parliament at this time, as we shall see, was unequal to the task of ruling England in the throes of civil war.

During the last five years of his life Henry IV suffered from a lingering illness which incapacitated him from business. His council was divided into two parties, led respectively by the Prince of Wales and Archbishop Arundel. The Prince at one time demanded that his father should resign the crown in his favour. The younger Henry also caused great scandal by the manner of his life in London, though Shakespeare has perhaps misrepresented him as a frequenter of the lowest taverns and a bosom friend of the worst characters of the town. Death at last relieved Henry IV from his many anxieties; he was reconciled to his heir just before the end. He died leaving the Lancastrian throne more secure than when he ascended it.

Death of Henry IV 1413

6. *Henry V*

(i) *The Lollards.*

The growth of Lollardry during the reign of Richard II was one of the grounds of complaint made by the clergy against that unfortunate king. Henry IV consequently started a Lollard persecution, which was carried on still more intensively by his son, Henry V. Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, has the unworthy distinction of being the first English bishop to hand over a heretic to be burnt at the stake. For many years burning had been the punishment for heresy, but Parliament now emphasized the existent practice by embodying it in the Statute 'De Heretico Comburendo' (1401). William Sawtre was condemned by the Archbishop's Court and burnt at Smithfield before the Act was passed. Other trials followed;

Persecution of Lollards

but there were not many martyrs, and many Lollards saved themselves from death by recanting their opinions.

Henry, Prince of Wales, took an active part in these persecutions, and personally supervised the burning of Lollards. He was nothing if not thorough; nor did he ever shrink from acts of cruelty which suited his purpose. When he ascended the throne as Henry V, he determined that the persecution of Lollards should be carried on more intensively. His father had been content to strike down minor offenders; Henry V at once attacked the leading Lollard in England, Sir John Oldcastle, a man of great wealth and unusual learning. Oldcastle was examined, arrested, and imprisoned. At his trial he burst into violent language. 'The Pope to-day,' he exclaimed, 'is anti-Christ. Your bishops and prelates are the members of the beast, and the friars are his tail.' After such language Oldcastle could expect nothing but death; he was condemned to be burnt. But, a few days before he was due to suffer, he managed to escape from the Tower (1413).

Henry V 1413–22

Sir John Oldcastle

After his escape Oldcastle determined to raise a general revolt against the king. He collected his adherents, chiefly Lollards, and planned to seize the king as he was keeping Christmas at his palace of Eltham. But Henry got word of the plot, and moved to London. In the first days of January 1414 the rebels prepared to strike; they arranged to meet secretly at St. Giles's Fields, near Charing Cross. But the king, who was already aware of their intentions, took out a strong force to meet them and surprised them as they were assembling in the dusk. Most of them escaped in the darkness, including Oldcastle. Of the captives, thirty-seven were hanged as traitors on the following day. Oldcastle survived for four years. Then he was taken on the Welsh March, and brought to London to suffer death for treason and heresy. He perished at Smithfield, where many a lesser victim had already died in the flames (December 1417).

His Rebellion, 1413–14

Execution of Oldcastle 1417

(ii) *The Conquest of France.*

Shortly after his accession to the throne Henry V wished to divert the attention of people and Parliament from affairs at home, and to strengthen his hold on the throne by winning

glory for himself in war. He therefore began to consider the question of reviving, in his own name, Edward III's claim to the crown of France. Edward's claim, it will be remembered, rested on the fact that his mother, Isabella of France, was a nearer relation to the late king than Philip of Valois.[1] In reviving the claim Henry V pretended that all the Valois kings had been usurpers. But, if crowns could descend through females, then not Henry but the Earl of March was the rightful king of England, since he represented the elder line of Lionel of Clarence.[2] Ignoring these facts, and calling on God to witness the purity of his intentions and the justice of his cause, Henry V proclaimed a war of conquest against France.

Henry V claims the French Crown

Charles VI of France 1380–1422

The internal conditions of France were very tempting to the invaders. The reigning king, Charles VI (1380–1422), was subject to periodical fits of insanity, lasting for months at a time. His young sons[3] were not old enough to rule the country, and the regency was claimed both by the king's brother, Louis of Orleans, and by his uncle, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Philip the Bold had been given the Duchy of Burgundy by his father, John II; he had also gained by marriage the County of Burgundy, together with Flanders and Artois (see map, p. 259). He thus ruled over a substantial territory, which, by its position on the borders of France and Germany, was almost an independent state. Not content with this, Philip the Bold aspired to rule France in the name of his mad nephew. Philip died (1404); and his son John the Fearless continued the struggle against the Duke of Orleans (Charles VI's brother), whom he caused to be murdered in the streets of Paris (1407). The strife between the two factions—Burgundians and Orleanists—lasted for many years, and made good government impossible.

Burgundy and Orleans

It was this distracted country which Henry V decided to invade in the summer of 1415. Like some later war enthusiasts, 'he'd got the ships, he'd got the men, he'd got the money too'—

[1] See Table, p. 217. [2] See Table, p. 250.

[3] See Table (France), p. 250. His two elder sons, who successively held the title of Dauphin, died before their father. The third son, Charles, afterwards became Charles VII. Two of Charles VI's daughters married kings of England.

though he had had to pawn the crown jewels to get them. Just before his departure he detected a plot against his life, led by his cousin Richard, Earl of Cambridge, younger brother of the Duke of York[1]. Cambridge and his two chief accomplices paid for their treason with their lives. This was the first blood shed in the struggle between York and Lancaster.

Cambridge's rebellion, 1415

Landing in France with about 20,000 men, Henry laid siege to Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine. He took it after a five weeks' siege, during which he lost two-thirds of his army through dysentery. In spite of this, Henry determined to march for Calais, and he set out across France in the autumn, with only 6,000 men. Unlike the marches of Edward III, Henry's were distinguished for the good discipline of the troops. The king forbade all plundering and burning of houses; he had no wish to set the people against their future ruler, as he hoped to be.

Henry V invades France 1415

The English army reached the Somme. Unable to find a safe crossing at Abbeville—for the French were ready on the other bank—the king ordered a march up the river to Amiens. Beyond Amiens, where the autumn rains were turning the river-country into a swamp, the English army marched on through the Somme mud, which their descendants were to tread five hundred years later. The river was crossed near Peronne. Henry then marched northwards through Picardy where a large French army was assembling. One rainy October night the two armies encamped near Agincourt, twenty miles north of Crécy. The French outnumbered the English by four to one. The battle was fought next morning—St. Crispin's Day, 25 October 1415.

Both armies were drawn up in three divisions; the French one behind the other, the English in line. The English fought dismounted, while the French placed cavalry on their flanks. The French cavalry attacked first, but the English archers were ready for them, and many of the horses, maddened by the pain of the English arrows, bolted; the rest were stopped by stakes which the archers had planted in the ground in front of them. Then the English line advanced. The French vanguard consisted chiefly of nobles and knights who had fought to get into the place of honour;

Agincourt 1415

[1] See Table, p. 250.

they were so heavily armed they could scarcely move. The ground, soaked with the previous night's rain, and trampled by thousands of feet, was a sea of mud. The English infantry, lightly clad and suitably armed (each archer carried a sword or other weapon), advanced to the attack, or rather to the slaughter or capture. For the battle resolved itself into 'the slaughter of a mass of mailed men, helplessly engulfed in a sea of mire' (Fortescue).

The battle was nearly lost, however, by a sudden French rally and unexpected attack on the English baggage and treasure. At this moment, perilous enough, there were some thousand unwounded French prisoners in the rear. Henry, with characteristic ruthlessness, gave orders for them all to be slaughtered. This prompt but scarcely chivalrous action saved the situation. While 200 archers slew the prisoners, Henry led off the rest of his force against the remaining enemy, broke their line, and ended the battle. The French lost about 5,000 killed; the English a few hundred—including the Duke of York.

Conquest of Normandy

After this victory Henry undertook the conquest of Normandy by a series of systematic sieges, which occupied the next three years. The French government was paralysed. Civil war was raging in Paris between the Burgundians and Orleanists. John, Duke of Burgundy, hesitated whether to join the English against the Orleanists or throw in his lot with the latter against the national enemy. Finally he decided to confer with the Dauphin Charles. The prince and the duke met on the bridge at Montereau (on the Seine). As Duke John knelt to kiss the Dauphin's hand, he was hewn down with a battle-axe by a member of the royal guard (1419).

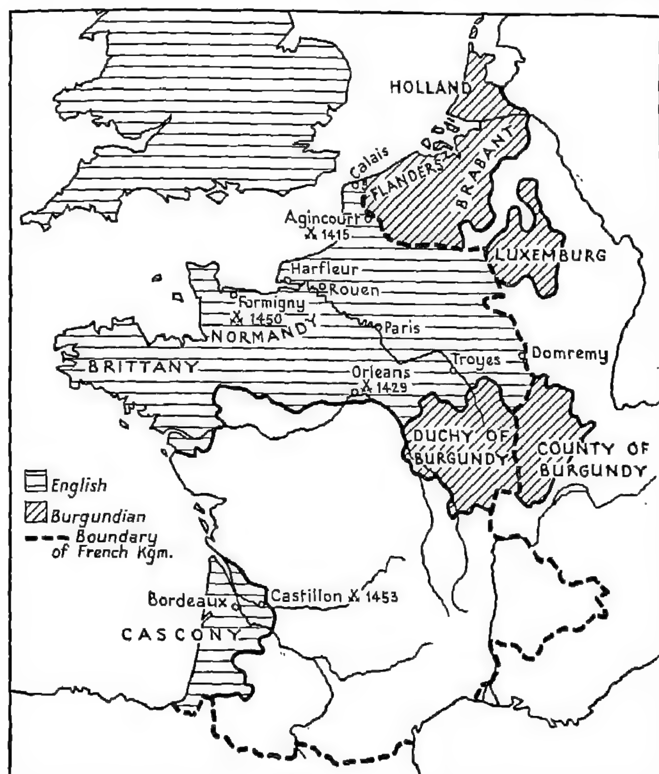
Murder of John of Burgundy 1419

The dastardly murder of John the Fearless very nearly ruined the French cause. Philip the Good, the new duke, immediately concluded a treaty of alliance with Henry V, in order to avenge his father's murder. The Dauphin fled from Paris, which Burgundy now controlled. His ally, Henry V, came to Troyes. A treaty was drawn up and sealed in Troyes Cathedral, by which the mad king, Charles VI, was forced to disinherit his own son, the Dauphin, in favour of his daughter Catherine, who married Henry V. Henry was declared 'heir

Treaty of Troyes 1420

of the kingdom of France' and promised to abandon his attempt on the throne during Charles's life (1420).

Later in the year Henry entered Paris, and then returned



FRANCE, 1413–53

to England to crown his new queen. While he was gone the Dauphin's armies attacked the English on the southern borders of Normandy. Thomas, Duke of Clarence, Henry's brother, whom he had left in command, pursued the enemy southward into Anjou. There the French won a victory—the first since the war was renewed—at Beaugé. Thomas of Clarence was Beaugé 1421

Death of Henry V 1422 killed, and his forces dispersed (1421). Henry hurried back to France, and spent the next year consolidating his conquests. At his death they extended to the Loire. He died in the flower of his youth, worn out by his exertions (1422).

His character The virtues of Henry V are sufficiently obvious. He was personally brave, a good leader, and a man of vast determination and resource. Had he turned his attention and his many gifts to ruling England, he might have deserved well of his country. As it was, he wasted the wealth and resources of England on an enterprise which, in spite of his genius for war, was to prove hopeless.

Henry's was an unsympathetic character. His mind was stern and unbending. He ordered the slaughter of the prisoners at Agincourt with the same consciousness of duty and the same absence of pity with which he had once thrust a half-burnt Lollard back into the fire. He had much to answer for. The war on which he embarked so confidently dragged on for thirty years after his death. By the time it ended, England, demoralized and defeated, was in a worse state than France under the Orleanists and Burgundians. The Wars of the Roses were to a considerable extent due to the demoralization of England brought about by the long French war. The harvest sown in blood by Henry the Conqueror was reaped in tears by his unhappy son.

XII

LANCASTER AND YORK

1. *The Loss of France*

Henry the Fifth died on the last day of August 1422; his mad father-in-law survived him less than two months. The heir to both kingdoms was a boy not yet a year old, Henry VI, son of Henry V and Catherine. The late king had directed that his brother John, Duke of Bedford, should be regent of France, and that his younger brother, Humphrey,[1] Duke of Gloucester, should be regent of England. Gloucester gave constant alarm by his unsteady conduct; he quarrelled violently with his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor, one of the younger sons of John of Gaunt, and Bedford was obliged to return to England several times to restore peace in the Council.

Henry VI 1422–61

Bedford and Gloucester

But these political squabbles, disastrous as they were to prove for England, were overshadowed by the change in our fortunes in France. Bedford was a good soldier and an able administrator, but he could not work miracles. Unfortunately for him, he was confronted with a personage who claimed that she could.

Joan of Arc, the saviour of France, was a peasant girl from Domrémy, a village in the valley of the Meuse. From childhood she was visited by strange dreams; she saw visions of figures whom she believed to be St. Catherine and St. Michael —she heard voices speaking to her. After a time, these celestial messages became more definite. When Joan was about seventeen, the 'Voices' bade her put on a suit of armour like a man, and go to the Dauphin Charles, the surviving son of the

Joan of Arc

[1] Humphrey, called the Good Duke (1391–1447), was a great collector of manuscripts, and he was the first to give Oxford an important library of its own. The Old Reading Room at the Bodleian Library was built to contain Duke Humphrey's collection; but the manuscripts were dispersed or destroyed by the Reformers in the time of Edward VI. In Elizabeth's reign Sir Thomas Bodley refounded the library, and it takes its present name from him.

mad king, whose army she should lead to victory. Her sudden and extraordinary appearance seemed like a portent from Heaven to Charles. Hers were the first words of confidence he had heard for many a day. He decided to give her the command of an army, and allow her to lead it to the relief of Orleans (1429).

Relief of Orleans 1429

The city of Orleans, on the Loire, was the key to the centre and south of France. The Maid, at the head of her troops, stormed the forts which the English held at the gates of the city, and entered it. The English fell back from Orleans, and suffered a defeat at the hands of the Maid and her army at Patay (1429). It was a wonderful success. The French soldiers cheered as they saw her white banner advancing; she inspired them with a new courage, a new enthusiasm. The English sullenly retreated, saying they had been beaten by a devil or a witch. After this Joan helped Charles to win back Champagne —eastern France—and led him to Rheims Cathedral to be crowned, as she had promised. But there her astonishing successes ended. She was captured by the Burgundians, who sold her to the English for 10,000 gold francs; she was brought to Rouen and imprisoned there.

Capture of Joan

Bedford was determined on the death of the Maid, for to the English soldiers she was a witch. The unhappy girl was loaded with chains, and given in charge of jailers who insulted and mocked her. In accordance with medieval practice, Gauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, claimed her for trial as a heretic in his diocese, for she declared that her Voices had not deceived her even if the Church said so. One of the worst parts of the grim story is that Charles VII, whom she had crowned and saved, did not lift a finger to save her from her accusers, or from the vengeance of the English. It is doubtful whether the Maid understood the purport of her long trial before the Court of Inquisition, though she gave some shrewd answers to the learned Inquisitors, bishops, and Doctors of the University of Paris who questioned her. At last the ordeal was over; they condemned her, noble and innocent as she was, as a witch, blasphemer, invoker of devils, and a heretic. She was handed over to the English commander, the Earl of Warwick, the same day, and burnt in the market-place of Rouen. She called

Trial of Joan

for a cross; an English soldier tied two sticks together and held them up to her. Then she cried aloud the name 'Jesus', and so died. **Her death 1431**

History records few more pitiful scenes than the death of Joan the Maid scarcely two years from her first appearance as the saviour of her country. Nearly five centuries later the Pope declared the Maid a Saint.

The war went on. Bedford held on to Normandy, and to Paris; but the French, in spite of the loss of Joan, were now in a pugnacious mood. She had fired the soldiers with her own spirit, and, from that moment, the English cause was doomed. But the English refused all offers of a peace which involved surrender of the throne by Henry VI. Then Philip of Burgundy decided that the time had come to change sides, and help Charles VII to regain his heritage. So he abandoned his allies in return for the cession of Picardy by Charles (1435). It was a bitter blow for the English, who now had an enemy instead of a friend on the eastern frontier of Normandy. **French victories** **Burgundy changes sides, 1435**

From then on the English fought a losing fight. Three factors brought about the change in their fortunes. The first was the career and inspiration of Joan the Maid. The second was the defection of Burgundy. The third was the loss of Bedford, the able commander who had succeeded Henry V. The duke died a few days after the signing of the treaty between France and Burgundy at Arras. He was buried in the church of Notre Dame at Rouen—the same city where the ashes of St. Joan had been cast into the Seine. **Death of Bedford 1435**

The twenty years—1435 to 1455—between the death of Bedford and the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses was a dreary time for England—the prelude of worse to come. Charles VII recovered Paris (1436), and his troops began to encroach on Normandy, and even on Gascony, where they had never before been seen. Normandy, however, was well governed by Richard, Duke of York, son of the Earl of Cambridge who had been executed in 1415, a man who was soon to play a larger part in English affairs. **Charles VII takes Paris 1436**

In England, after the death of Bedford, the struggle of rival lords became more bitter than ever. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was now sole regent. His rival, Cardinal Beaufort,

was getting old, and soon retired from politics; his place was taken by his nephews, John and Edmund Beaufort, successively Dukes of Somerset (see Table, p. 272). After the death (1444) of the elder brother, John, Edmund Beaufort became what we should now call 'Leader of the Opposition'. But the game of politics was a more dangerous one in the fifteenth century than it is now: it was played with the axe and the sword.

The Beauforts

Beaufort's great friend was William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, grandson of Richard II's minister. It was Suffolk who arranged a truce with France, and a marriage between the young king and Margaret of Anjou, niece to Charles VII—at the price of the surrender of Maine to the French king (1445). Few marriages could have been more unsuitable than that of Margaret and Henry. Margaret was a high-spirited girl of sixteen, a good fighter and a good hater. Later in life she showed herself the equal of men hardened in crime and in the shedding of blood. 'The she-wolf of France', Shakespeare called her,[1] and she earned her name. Her husband, Henry VI, was, in many respects, the worthiest of the Lancastrians. The English king was twenty-three at the time of his marriage—a mild-tempered young man, fond of study, fond of peace, devoted to religion. He was, his secretary tells us, 'a man simple and upright, altogether fearing the Lord God and departing from evil. He was a simple man without any crook or craft or untruth, as is plain to all.' His life's work was the foundation of Eton College, Windsor, and of King's College, Cambridge—nobler monuments, surely, than the fading glories of Agincourt. Unfortunately, in later life, the king became subject to attacks of insanity inherited undoubtedly from his grandfather, the mad French king; he was never able to grapple with the stern problems of the time. It was this pious, simple gentleman who reigned over England for forty of the saddest years of her history.

Marriage of Henry VI 1445

Queen Margaret

Character of Henry VI

Eton and King's

The new queen sided whole-heartedly with Beaufort and Suffolk. Two years after the marriage of the king, the two allies, with the queen's support, felt strong enough to strike at Gloucester. The duke was charged with treason before a

[1] *King Henry VI*, Part III, Act I, Sc. iv.

Parliament held at Bury. He was thrown into prison—a prison from which he never emerged alive. The circumstances of his death are obscure, but he was quite possibly murdered, like the previous holder of the title.[1] The heir to the throne was now the Duke of York, representative of the line of Edmund of York and of Lionel of Clarence.[2] The duke's right to the succession was not to be denied; it was far stronger than the claims of Somerset, the head of the Beaufort family. The Beauforts were all descended from John of Gaunt and his third wife, Catherine Swynford, but they had been expressly debarred from the succession by Act of Parliament.[3] Somerset, however, enjoyed the royal favour while York did not. The latter was sent to Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, to get him out of the way.

Death of Gloucester 1447

The Duke of York

Meanwhile the long Hundred Years War with France was about to enter on its last phase. Charles VII began the re-conquest of Normandy (1449), a process which he completed within twelve months. Rouen fell in the autumn; in the following spring a decisive battle was fought at Formigny, near Bayeux. Somerset, who was in command, seems to have been utterly incompetent as a general, and before the end of the year (1450) the whole of Normandy was lost.

Loss of Normandy 1450

These disasters had their reactions in England in a parliamentary impeachment and a popular uprising. Suffolk, the minister responsible for the conduct of the war, was impeached by Parliament and condemned for treason. He fled from the country, but as his ship was crossing the Channel it was intercepted. Sailors acting on the command of some enemy in London—who is not known—seized the unfortunate minister and beheaded him across the gunwale of a boat (May 1450). The king was heartbroken when he heard the news; but he was powerless to punish or even to detect Suffolk's murderers.

Murder of Suffolk 1450

[1] See above, p. 248.

[2] See Tables, pp. 250 and 273. The duke was not only the head of the House of York; he was also the representative of the elder line (descended from the third son of Edward III), through his father's marriage to the heiress of the Mortimers.

[3] Catherine's children were all born before her marriage to John of Gaunt. They were legitimized by Act of Parliament (1392), but debarred from the succession to the throne (1407).

The murder of Suffolk was followed, in the same month, by the revolt of Jack Cade, who pretended to be one of the Mortimers and whose object was 'to correct public abuses and to remove evil counsellors'. Cade, like Wat Tyler, hailed from Kent, where the rebellion began; and, like Tyler, he encamped with his men on Blackheath. His rebel army defeated the royal forces sent against him, and entered the capital, where Cade announced himself as John-Amend-All, come to set right the grievances of England. He demanded the dismissal of the ministers who were losing France and misgoverning England. There was fighting in London, some murders, and much damage to property. But the rebels agreed to disperse when the two archbishops promised to submit their demands to the king, and to pardon their rebellion. Nevertheless, Cade was arrested and executed a few days later by the Sheriff of Kent. Other rebels were hanged.

Cade's rebellion 1450

Meanwhile the incompetent Somerset tried to steer the ship of state through troubled waters. Disastrous news arrived from France. All Gascony was lost in two years. The decisive battle was fought at Castillon (1453), and a few weeks later the garrison of Bordeaux surrendered. The rich province of Gascony, English for 300 years, was irrevocably lost. Only Calais remained of all our French possessions.

Castillon 1453

End of the Hundred Years War

Such was the end of the long war begun by Edward III a hundred and fifteen years previously. The wheel of fortune had turned its full circle since Henry V had started the second attempt at conquest. The change in the relative positions of France and England may be summed up thus: 'France recovered: England fell sick' (Michelet). In 1415 England was united under a strong ruler; France was torn by civil war and her king was a madman. In 1453 France was well on the road to recovery under Charles VII; England was about to embark on the murderous Wars of the Roses. It only remained, to complete the parallel, for the English king to go mad. This happened within a few weeks of the battle of Castillon.

Madness of Henry VI

The poor king's affliction was not so dangerous as that of his French grandfather,[1] but he fell into absolute idiocy; he could

[1] Charles VI, when he was first seized with madness, killed four men before he could be restrained.

neither speak, nor understand, nor move. The Duke of York, who returned from Ireland, was appointed Protector of the realm, claiming his right as first prince of the blood. But, almost at the same time, the birth of the Prince of Wales deprived York of his hopes of succeeding his feeble cousin on the throne. Next year Henry recovered his reason, dismissed York (who was thought by some to have had a hand in Cade's rebellion), and restored Somerset to power. Soon afterwards the queen held a council of her supporters 'to provide for the safety of the king's person against his enemies'. In other words, she intended to arrest York and all his party. The duke prepared to resist, and gathered his adherents. Both parties were ready for civil war.

York as Protector 1453

2. *The Fall of the House of Lancaster (1455–61)*

The appeal to arms which the Duke of York made in 1455 was the prologue to the tragedy of the Wars of the Roses.[1] These intermittent civil wars were so called from the fact that York took the White Rose as his badge, while the royal House of Lancaster adopted the Red. The first cause of this unhappy episode in our history was the failure of the House of Lancaster to govern England. Henry V had been a strong ruler, a great conqueror, and a national hero. Henry VI was the reverse of all this. His father's conquests were lost; his ministers were hated and distrusted. Above all, the Crown was not strong enough to control the lords and keep the peace in England.

The Wars of the Roses

Weakness of the Crown

The second cause of the Wars of the Roses is to be found in the characters of the English lords and the knightly class who followed them. These men were, for the most part, mere fighting animals. They had little education and no idea of culture; their interests were confined to hunting and fighting. When the long French war came to an end, the English leaders continued their military pastimes in England. Their households

The Barons

[1] The fighting was by no means continuous. After the first clash in 1455 there was an uneasy peace for four years; during the next five years (1459–64) there was much fighting; then came five years' peace, followed by a further outbreak (1469–71). Lastly there was a period of fourteen years' peace before the final act of the drama was played out at Bosworth (1485).

were filled with disbanded veterans from the French wars—men accustomed to a life of violence and plunder, and fit for all kinds of mischief. The nobles could also call upon private armies of 'retainers', who were organized under an evil system known as 'livery and maintenance'. It was the practice of great lords to invite the smaller gentry and yeomen of their neighbourhood to wear their livery—sometimes an actual uniform, more often just a badge, like the Bear and Ragged Staff of the Nevilles, or the Portcullis of the Beauforts. The retainers who wore this livery agreed to fight in their lord's battles whenever he should need them; in return he undertook to 'maintain' (i.e. champion) their cause. This usually meant that the lord would appear with an armed following at local trials where his retainers were concerned and overawe the juries. Since the verdict of the jury had to be unanimous, it was seldom possible to get convictions against the friend of a great lord.

Livery and maintenance

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that there were frequent skirmishes between the rival retainers of different lords. Indeed, the lords would probably have gone on fighting even if there had been no White and Red Rose to divide England into two camps. A revelation of this state of affairs is to be found in the *Paston Letters*—the correspondence of a Norfolk family which has been preserved. There, for instance, we read how Lord Moleyns seized a mansion belonging to John Paston:

Local warfare

> 'Lord Moleyns sent to the said mansion a riotous people to the number of 1000 persons arrayed in manner of war, with . . . glaives (swords), bows, arrows, guns, pans with fire, long crows to draw down houses, ladders, picks, with which they mined down the walls, and long trees with which they broke up gates and doors, and so came into the said mansion . . . and broke up all the chambers and coffers, and . . . bare away all the stuff, array and money there.'

The family of the Nevilles[1] played a large part in these wars. The Nevilles of Westmorland were usually fighting the Percys of Northumberland, when they were not both fighting the Scots over the Border. Richard Neville, uncle of the Earl of Westmorland, was the most powerful man of this family; he

The Nevilles

[1] See Table, p. 273.

became Earl of Salisbury by his marriage to the Salisbury heiress. Salisbury and his brother were whole-hearted supporters of the Yorkist cause, and his sister Cicely married the Duke of York; Salisbury's son, the young Earl of Warwick, was also a prominent Yorkist; his part in the history of the next fifteen years was destined to be a great one.

Another family marked out for greatness was that of the Tudors. Sir Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, was the founder of its fortunes, for he married Catherine of France, widow of Henry V. His two sons, Jasper and Edmund, were made Earls of Pembroke and Richmond respectively. These Tudor brothers could always raise an army for Lancaster in Wales. Edmund Tudor married Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter of John, Duke of Somerset (see Table, p. 272). The only child of this marriage, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was born in 1457. Twenty-eight years later, by a strange turn of Fortune's wheel, he became King of England. **The Tudors**

The peaceful, prosperous towns of England probably looked with dread on the coming conflict. At Coventry, for instance, in 1451, there were expectations of the approaching war, and it was decided to make ready the fortifications of the city against attack. At a meeting of the council, plans were drawn up for 'the strengthening of this city, if need be, which God forbid'. Portcullises were made for the gates, and iron chains to close up the ends of the city lanes. King Henry visited Coventry the next year, and thus addressed the mayor and corporation: 'We charge you with our pease among you to be kepte and that ye suffer no ryottes . . . ne (nor) congregations of lewde pepull among you, and also that ye suffer no lordes lyvereys, knyghtes, ne swyers (squires) to be reseyved of no man withe in you, for hit is agayne our statutes.'[1] Brave words! But the poor king could not prevent 'lordes lyvereys' from being worn, though they were 'agayne our statutes'. **Attitude of the towns**

The first battle of the Wars of the Roses was fought at St. Albans (1455). Though it was little more than a skirmish in the High Street and only lasted half an hour, it was a complete victory for the Duke of York. His rival, Somerset, was slain, and the king remained a prisoner in his hands. York's **First ⚔ St. Albans, 1455**

[1] Dormer Harris, *Coventry*.

triumph seemed complete when Henry again became insane—unfortunately for York, only for a few months—and he was made Protector for the second time (1455–6). But the revengeful queen could not rest till she had ruined him. On the king's recovery he was dismissed from power. Three years later the Yorkist leaders again took up arms, but, finding their forces insufficient, fled the country—York to Ireland, his nephew, Warwick, to Calais. From Calais Warwick controlled a fleet and the passage of the Straits. Meanwhile a Parliament, packed with Lancastrians, was summoned to meet at Coventry (1459). York, Salisbury, Warwick, and all the Yorkist leaders were condemned by an Act of Attainder,[1] which sentenced them to lose their lives and estates.

York's second Protectorship, 1455–6

The next year (1460) the exiles invaded England. York landed in the west, Warwick in Kent. At Northampton Warwick beat a Lancastrian army and captured the king. London opened its gates to the victor. But that December, while Warwick remained in the south, a fierce battle was fought in Yorkshire at Wakefield, where Duke Richard and his brother-in-law Salisbury were slain. The victorious queen marched on London, and at the second battle of St. Albans she defeated Warwick and re-captured the king.

Wakefield 1460

Second ⚔ St. Albans 1461

But Margaret had still to reckon with Edward, Earl of March, York's eldest son, a boy of nineteen, who won a striking victory over the Welsh Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross. After the battle Edward executed his chief prisoners—a fashion which was followed for the rest of these wars. Among the victims was Owen Tudor. Edward then joined Warwick in the Midlands and marched on London. The two earls entered the capital, where March was proclaimed king under the name of Edward IV (1461). They then marched north again, where Margaret had returned. This time she was completely defeated by Edward at the battle of Towton (1461). Those of the

Mortimer's Cross, 1461

Edward IV proclaimed King, 1461

[1] An Act of Attainder was a Bill passed by Parliament declaring the person (named) guilty of treason or felony and therefore punishable by death or outlawry. The consequence of Attainder was the 'corruption of blood' so that the condemned could neither inherit nor transmit by descent, and his estates were forfeited to the king. It was used (first in 1459) to get rid of a bad or unpopular Minister without a judicial trial—whereas Impeachment was a trial (see p. 232, note).

Lancastrian nobles who were not killed in this battle were beheaded after it was over. Margaret, her son, and husband fled to Scotland. Edward IV returned to London for his coronation.

Towton 1461

3. *The King-Maker and the King*

Edward IV was scarcely more than a boy when he seized the throne of England, though he already had had experience in politics and war. He was a heavily-built, coarse-grained young man, much given to eating, drinking, and making merry—the very opposite of his saintly predecessor, Henry VI. He was not, however, without ability; and he could be cunning as well as cruel. But the deeper and darker shades of his character were unsuspected when he came to the throne.

Edward IV 1461–83

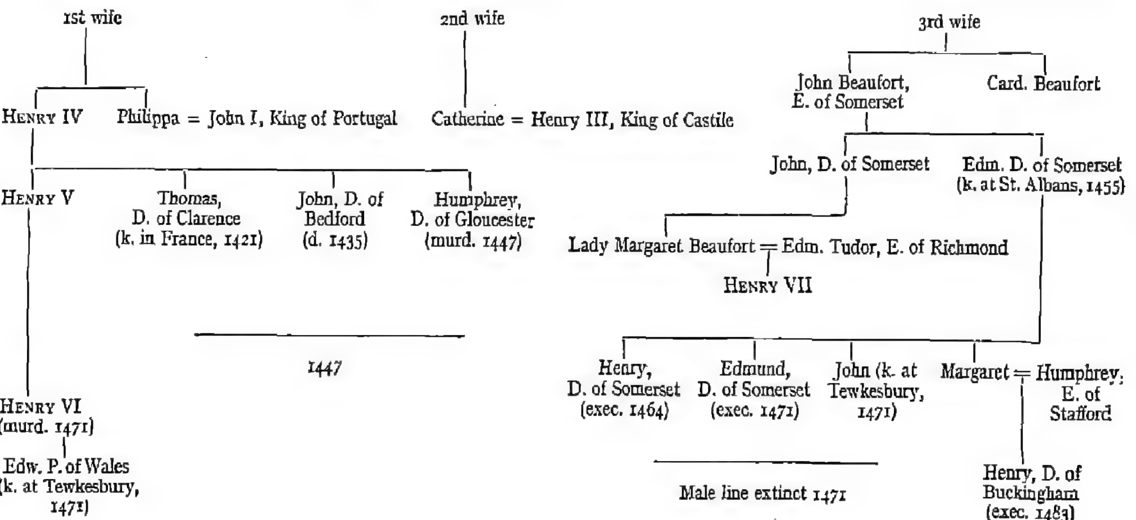
The young king was at first completely overshadowed by his cousin, the Earl of Warwick, a man fourteen years his senior. Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice, who wrote during these times a book called the *Governance of England*, remarked that the chief danger to the royal power came from 'over-mighty subjects'. For the first ten years of Edward's reign, Warwick was the greatest of such subjects. He was born in 1428, and was the eldest son of the Earl of Salisbury. When yet a boy he was married to Anne, daughter of Richard Beauchamp,[1] Earl of Warwick, the premier earl of England. This Earl Richard died in 1439; ten years later, after the deaths of his son and granddaughter, his estates passed, together with the title of Earl of Warwick, to his son-in-law, Richard Neville, then twenty-one years old.

Warwick, the King-Maker

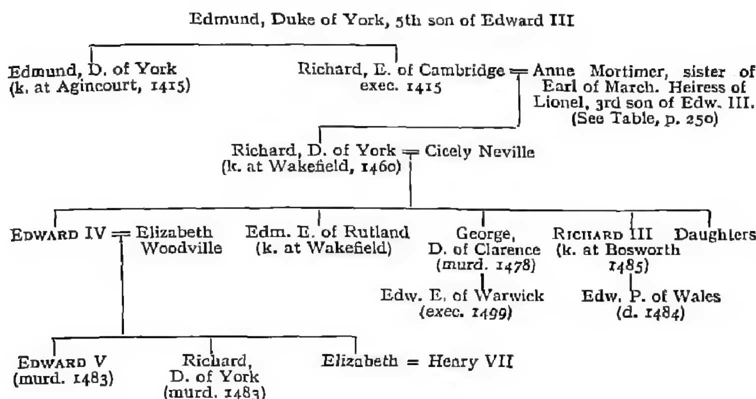
We have seen that Warwick played a leading part in the battles and intrigues of the Wars of the Roses. The death of his father, Salisbury, and of his uncle, York, at Wakefield, made him both the richest and the most powerful nobleman in England. His great wealth came from the union of the

[1] There is no better way of picturing the power and magnificence of the later medieval earls than to visit Warwick Castle, one of the most splendid, as it is one of the least spoilt, of the castles of England. There the huge towers, raised by the Beauchamp earls in the fourteenth century, still frown down upon the Avon. In St. Mary's Church, Warwick, is the beautiful Beauchamp Chapel, where lies Richard Beauchamp, in a tomb which is one of the glories of fifteenth-century art.

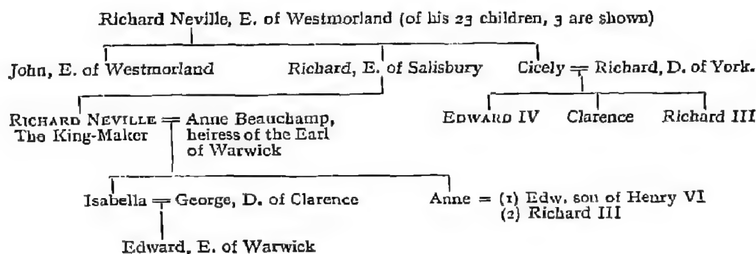
DESCENDANTS OF JOHN OF GAUNT



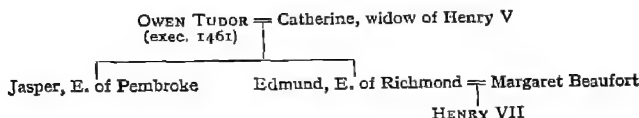
THE HOUSE OF YORK



THE NEVILLES



THE TUDORS



estates of Salisbury and Warwick, inherited from his father and his father-in-law. As an experienced leader, he naturally regarded himself as the real head of the Yorkists, and he hoped to rule England in the name of his young cousin.

Campaign against Margaret 1464 The first anxieties of the new reign were caused by Queen Margaret, who twice invaded Northumberland. She raised an army of Scots and Lancastrians and seized most of the castles of Northumberland. This was the last rally of the Lancastrians. Warwick defeated them at the battle of Hexham (1464), which at last brought peace to the north. Bamborough Castle held out a little longer, but was eventually stormed and taken. At the siege of Bamborough cannon[1] were used so successfully that the stones of the castle flew into the sea. In 1465 Henry VI, a fugitive in the north, was captured in Yorkshire and brought to London, where he was imprisoned in the Tower.

After Hexham Edward IV was secure on his throne; but he was still entirely under the influence of his cousin. The first sign of estrangement between the two men came with the king's marriage to Elizabeth Gray, widow of Sir John Gray (a Lancastrian knight) and daughter of Richard Woodville, Marriage of Edward IV Lord Rivers. Warwick was furious at the favour shown to the Woodvilles, the queen's relations. But Edward was tired of his dependence on Warwick and sought means to escape from his influence—hence the promotion of the Woodvilles. The queen had five brothers, seven sisters, and two sons (by her first husband); most of these relations were now married to members of the noblest families in England. Her father, Lord Rivers, was made Treasurer; while Warwick's brother, Archbishop Neville, was dismissed from the Chancellorship.

The earl was alarmed at the change in his fortunes; he began to look for allies, and found one in George, Duke of Clarence, Rebellion of Warwick and Clarence 1469 Edward's brother. Clarence had married Isabella Neville, Warwick's elder daughter, against the king's express command. Shortly afterwards Warwick and Clarence issued a manifesto against Edward and prepared for war. All Yorkshire rose for the Nevilles, and the king was taken by surprise.

[1] Gunpowder was invented in the fourteenth century; cannon were used in the French wars by Edward III and Henry V—but they were scarcely more than curiosities, like the first tanks in the Great War.

He was captured and brought to Middleham Castle, one of Warwick's Yorkshire strongholds.

After a few months the earl liberated his captive, apparently imagining that he would be allowed to rule once more in the king's name. But the next year (1470) Edward had his revenge. He suddenly declared Warwick and Clarence traitors, and marched against them. They both fled overseas to France. There Warwick sought the aid of Louis XI, who reconciled the earl and his old enemy, Queen Margaret. A marriage was arranged between Margaret's son, Edward, Prince of Wales, and Warwick's younger daughter, Anne Neville. Warwick then invaded England. He landed at Dartmouth, and soon had the country at his feet. Edward escaped and fled to Burgundy (1470).[1] **Edward IV** *in exile* **1470**

Then was seen a curious spectacle. Warwick caused the unfortunate Henry VI to be released from the Tower, where he had been imprisoned for the last five years, and enthroned in St. Paul's. But the new reign of the restored king was short. In March 1471 Edward landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, the place Henry of Lancaster had chosen for a similar adventure. **Return of Edward 1471** His brother, the fickle Clarence, had already arranged to desert the earl and joined Edward in the midlands. The rival armies met at Barnet (1471), and there the King-Maker was slain. **Death of Warwick** His great enemy dead, Edward felt reasonably secure. But he had still to deal with Margaret, who landed at Weymouth on the very day of the battle of Barnet. Edward marched against her, and defeated her in a bloody battle at Tewkesbury (1471), **Tewkesbury 1471,** where her son, Prince Edward, was slain by the hand of the treacherous Clarence. Margaret was captured the next day and imprisoned for four years; after which Edward gave her up to Louis XI. After his victory, and the usual executions, the king returned to London and at once gave orders for the murder of Henry VI, the unfortunate prisoner in the Tower.

Edward's triumph was marked by a series of cruel executions and confiscations of property, all by Acts of Attainder. **Acts of Attainder** He did not spare the lesser gentry—'the rich were hanged by the

[1] Note that Warwick was supported by Louis XI, and Edward by Louis' enemy, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who had married Margaret of York, Edward's sister.

purse, and the poor by the neck' (Stubbs). The estates of the late Earl of Warwick were divided between the king's two brothers. Clarence was already married to one of the King-Maker's daughters; the other daughter, Anne, widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, was now (1472) married to Clarence's younger brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester.

The rule of Edward IV now became an undisguised despotism; and in this respect his reign resembled those of the Tudors who followed him, rather than of the Lancastrians who preceded him. The first cause of this access of strength to the Crown was the military triumph of the House of York. The civil wars had thinned the ranks of the baronage, and thus decreased the danger of feudal rebellion. The King-Maker was dead; but the king still lived and reigned—without a rival.

Power of the Yorkist monarchy

The second cause of the strength of the Yorkist monarchy was the fact that Edward, unlike the Lancastrian kings, was not dependent on Parliament for money. He could 'live of his own'—that is, on the royal revenue, and so need not be continually begging Parliament for extra supplies. It is a very significant fact that Edward IV called no Parliament for five years—from 1478 till a few months before his death (1483).

Edward's revenue

What were the sources of the king's revenue which enabled him thus to dispense with Parliamentary taxation? First, there were the old feudal dues, customary since Norman times; secondly, the rents from the royal estates; and thirdly, the income from the customs duties levied at the ports. These last were substantially increased during Edward's reign. The wool trade[1] was booming, and England, in spite of the recent civil war—which had scarcely affected the normal life of the trading classes—was becoming a rich country. As for the royal rents, they also increased as a direct consequence of the civil wars. For the leaders of the defeated party were all condemned by Acts of Attainder, which meant that their property as well as their lives was forfeited to the Crown. Besides this, Edward managed to find other means of raising money. Sums of money—called 'benevolences'[2]—were extracted from rich but

[1] See Chapters X, Sect. 4, and XII, Sect. 5.

[2] Benevolences, i.e. forced loans levied without legal authority—as a token of 'goodwill' towards the king!

unwilling donors for the use of the Crown. Lastly, like his descendant Charles II, who resembled him in many ways, Edward IV became a pensioner of the King of France. His conduct in this matter was masterly, though scarcely heroic. He summoned Parliament and got the Houses to grant him supplies for a war against Louis XI. He invaded France with a large army, making a braver show than Edward III or Henry V. Then he met the French king on the bridge at Pecquigny,[1] accepted a gift of 75,000 crowns and a promise of a pension of 50,000 more, and returned home without fighting.

The last years of Edward's reign were stained by a crime for which even he afterwards felt some remorse—the murder of his brother. Clarence had already been guilty of treason, when he had joined Warwick, but had been forgiven, owing to his subsequent betrayal of the earl. Now he quarrelled with his younger and far abler brother, Richard of Gloucester, who inflamed the king's suspicions against him. The end of Clarence is perhaps the darkest part of all this dark history. The duke was arrested (1477), and put to death in prison the next year, by Edward's orders. False to his brother the king, false to his father-in-law, Warwick, Clarence was a wretched character. Shakespeare has depicted, in an unforgettable scene, the last haunted hours of this miserable man:

Murder of Clarence 1478

I passed, methought, the melancholy flood,
With that grim ferryman the poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.
The first that there did greet my stranger soul
Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick;
Who cried aloud, 'What scourge for perjury
Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?'
And so he vanished; then came wandering by
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair[2]
Dabbled in blood; and he shrieked out aloud
'Clarence is come—false, fleeting, perjured Clarence—
That stabbed me in the field by Tewkesbury—
Seize on him, Furies! Take him to your torments!'[3]

[1] There was a grating of trellis work between the two monarchs—possibly to prevent a repetition of the tragedy on the bridge at Montereau (see above, p. 258).

[2] Edward, Prince of Wales.

[3] *King Richard III*, Act 1, Sc. iv.

Edward lived another five years after the death of his brother. He died at the early age of forty-one, leaving a little son, a boy of twelve, to succeed him. Edward IV had some talents, particularly for war, but he was too indolent and pleasure-loving to be a good ruler. As for his private character—'he was as a man vicious far beyond any king that England had seen since the days of John; and more cruel and bloodthirsty than any king England had ever known' (Stubbs). The murder of Clarence was but the crowning act of a ruthless career. The lesser victims of Edward's cruelty after victory were numerous; but their names are forgotten.

Death of Edward IV 1483

4. *The Fall of the House of York*

On the death of Edward IV the country was faced, as at the death of Edward III, with the prospect of the reign of a boy king. As on the former occasion the young king had an uncle, who was an able and ambitious man. But, unlike John of Gaunt, Richard of Gloucester was not loyal; his ambition knew no limits and he was devoid of any moral scruples.

Edward V 1483

The young king, Edward V, was at Ludlow when his father died. He set out to join his mother in London, escorted by his uncle, Lord Rivers, and his half-brother, Sir Richard Gray. But when the royal retinue had reached Stony Stratford, the Duke of Gloucester met the king. He at once took charge of his nephew, and arrested Rivers and Gray, whom he sent to prison. On hearing this news, the queen-mother, expecting the worst, took sanctuary at Westminster. On reaching London, Richard at once had himself proclaimed Protector. He had already planned to seize the throne, and sounded the chief members of the Council on their attitude to this design. His chief ally was Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; the chief opponent of the usurpation was Lord Hastings. One morning Gloucester entered the council chamber, accused Hastings of employing sorcery against him, and arrested him. 'Now, by St. Paul', quoth he, 'I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.' The unfortunate Hastings was forthwith beheaded on the green outside. At the same time Richard gave orders for the execution of Rivers and Gray.

Richard Protector

Execution of Hastings

Richard's next step was to persuade the foolish queen to

surrender the king's younger brother, Richard, Duke of York, into his uncle's charge. When both his nephews were in his power, Richard threw off the mask. The Duke of Buckingham offered him the crown, which, after some show of resistance, he accepted. He was crowned king as Richard III (July); but before that London was horrified by the rumour that Edward V and his brother were no more. The two princes had been murdered in the Tower by their uncle's orders (1483).

Murder of Edward V and his brother, 1483

Richard III 1483–5

Richard III, the fourteenth and last king of the House of Plantagenet, was undoubtedly a man of great ability and courage. Though undersized and deformed, he was not, perhaps, quite the monster that Shakespeare makes him out to be. Shakespeare, it must be remembered, was a subject of the Tudors, who naturally hated the memory of the last Yorkist king. Nevertheless, Richard III would shrink from no deed, however appalling, to gain his ends. And he overreached himself, for the murder of his nephews shocked the conscience even of that generation, accustomed as it was to deeds of blood.

Buckingham's rebellion 1483

The Duke of Buckingham, who had helped Richard to the throne, was the first to turn against him. In the autumn of the same eventful year (1483), he rebelled. At the same time Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was in Brittany, crossed the Channel, and reached Plymouth. But, on receiving the news that Buckingham's rebellion had failed, he wisely returned. Buckingham was captured, and at once beheaded.

In the following spring Richard lost his only son, and a year later the queen, Anne Neville, also died (1485). With revolting callousness he then proposed marriage to his niece, Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. It seems that her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, actually entertained the proposal, although Richard had recently put to death her brother and three out of her four sons![1] But the proposal met with such opposition in the Council that Richard abandoned it. Most of the year 1485 was filled with preparations for another rebellion, and men began to correspond with Henry Tudor. Henry had little hereditary right to the throne. He could claim through his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, to be the representative of the Beaufort line; but that line was debarred from

Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond

[1] Sir Richard Gray, Edward V, and the Duke of York.

the throne by Act of Parliament.[1] If Richard was to be deposed, his nephew, the Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence, was the obvious heir. But Warwick, like his cousin Edward V, was only a boy. Besides, the country was tired of the House of York and its deeds of blood.

Henry Tudor, therefore, hoped to try his fortunes as representative of the House of Lancaster. In August he set sail from Havre, and landed at Milford Haven in Pembrokeshire. His family connexions there stood him in good stead, and the Welshmen joined him. He advanced cautiously to Shrewsbury. Richard was at Leicester, and Henry crossed England to meet him in battle. He hoped that Lord Stanley, who had married his mother, Lady Margaret, would desert the king at the critical moment. The night before the battle Richmond spent at Atherstone in Warwickshire. In the morning he moved into Leicestershire and came upon Richard a few miles from Market Bosworth (21 August 1485).

Lands in Pembrokeshire, 1485

Bosworth 1485

The battle was not long, for it soon became obvious that Richard's men had no heart for the fight. Lord Stanley deserted as arranged, and Richard knew that all was over. Tradition says that he died not unworthily:

Death of Richard III

'Nay, give me my battle-axe in my hand, sett the crowne of England on my head so high,
For by Him that made both sea and land, King of England this day I will dye.
One foot I will never flee whilst the breath is my brest within.'
As he said, so was it—if he lost his life, he died a king.

The crown which Richard wore in the battle was found lying in a hawthorn bush: it was placed on Henry Tudor's head by Stanley, who hailed him as Henry VII.

So ended the long conflict of the Red and the White Rose.[2] By good fortune and the chance of battle, England had at last obtained a king who was able to restore peace and order. The nation longed for peace, and obtained it at the price of an over-

[1] See above, p. 265.

[2] Shakespeare has dramatized the long struggle from 1398 to 1485 in a series of eight plays: *King Richard II*, the two parts of *King Henry IV*, *King Henry V*, the three parts of *King Henry VI*, and *King Richard III*.

mighty monarchy, founded by Henry VII. The words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Henry Tudor on the field of Bosworth express the relief with which England realized that the days of civil strife were over:

> Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord,
> That would reduce these bloody days again,
> And make poor England weep in streams of blood;
> Let them not live to taste this land's increase,
> That would with treason wound this fair land's peace!
> Now civil wounds are stopped, peace lives again;
> That she may long live here, God say Amen.[1]

5. *Trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*

In the Wars of the Roses the actual combatants, especially the barons, suffered severely. But the number of men engaged was not large, and the country as a whole was not concerned in the struggle. The worst evil was lack of order, especially under Henry VI. Trade, however, prospered—above all, the cloth trade.

Prosperity of cloth trade

We have seen[2] how the English cloth trade was carefully fostered by Edward III. In the century which followed that king's death the cloth merchants became very prosperous. This can still be seen to-day if we visit the three chief wool-growing areas of medieval England—the West Riding of Yorkshire, East Anglia, and the Cotswolds—particularly the two last, for the West Riding has been changed by modern industrialism. In the Cotswolds, for instance, there are many magnificent churches, as at Cirencester, Northleach, and Chipping Campden, built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the munificence of the cloth merchants. Greville's House, Chipping Campden, is a fine example of a wealthy cloth merchant's residence; so is Thomas Paycocke's at Coggeshall in Essex. In all parts of England the domestic architecture of the period shows a great advance. The half-timber and half-brick style, afterwards so popular in the Tudor period, was used not only for houses, but for guild-halls and hospitals, e.g. Ford's Hospital at Coventry, and the Guildhall (now part of the Grammar School), Stratford-on-Avon.

[1] *King Richard III*, Act v, Sc. iv.

[2] See above, p. 226.

Foreign merchants

The export of English cloth greatly increased during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It must be borne in mind, however, that throughout the medieval period Englishmen took only a small part in the international trade of Europe. The trading centres of the Continent, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, were north Germany, Flanders, and Italy. We will consider these in turn.

The Hansa

The trade of northern Europe was controlled by the league of the Hansa (merchant guild) of the Free Imperial Cities[1] of north Germany, e.g. Cologne, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Danzig. The merchants of these rich cities controlled the trade of Germany with England, with the Scandinavian countries, and with Russia. The Baltic trade was chiefly in fish (especially the Baltic herrings for eating on fast-days) and in timber (used for shipping); the trade with Russia was mainly in furs. The Hanseatic League also controlled two of the chief overland routes to the East via Kiev and Astrakhan (see map). In England the Hansa had a factory as early as the reign of Henry II; later they built a warehouse in London known as the Steel-Yard, the site of which is now covered by Cannon Street Station; they had other houses at Boston (Lincs.) and King's Lynn. These German merchants, whom the English called Easterlings, were given special privileges by the kings of England, who borrowed money both from them and from the Italian spice merchants and bankers (who in due course settled in Lombard Street).

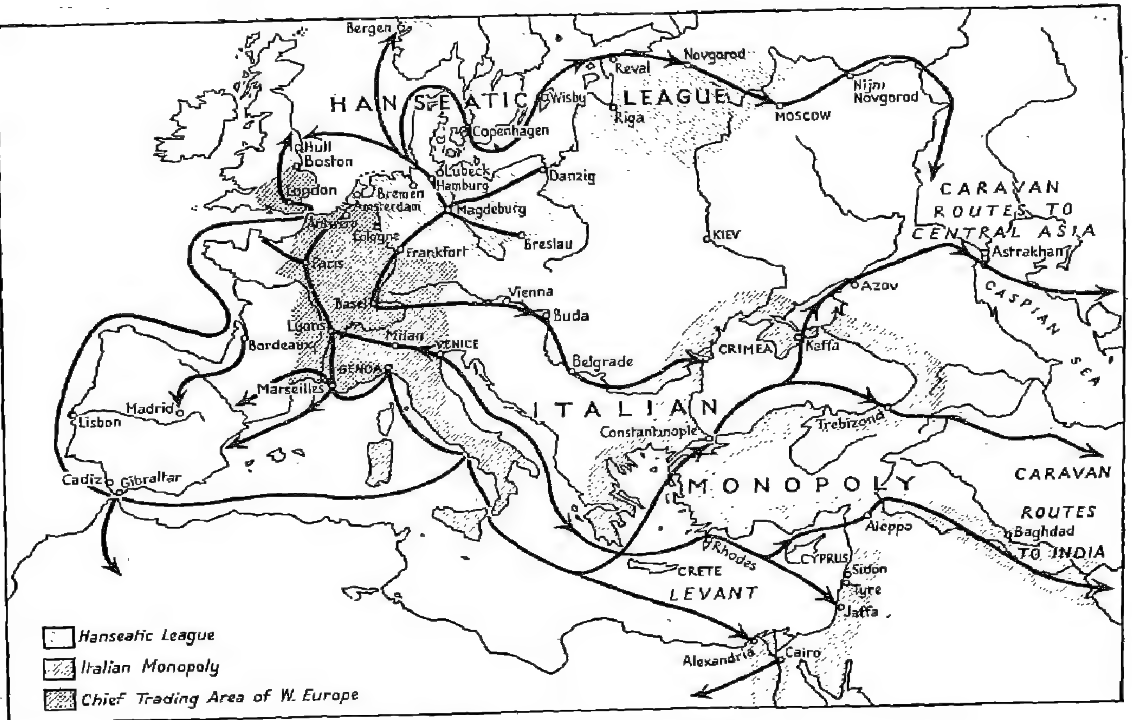
Flanders

The cities of Flanders and the Netherlands, like Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, and Amsterdam, lay near the mouth of the Rhine, and were thus well situated at the northern end of the main overland trade-route of Europe—the Rhine valley. Their citizens lived mainly by the manufacture of cloth, and were for centuries the chief clothiers of Europe.

Venice and Genoa

The Italian cities of the Plain of Lombardy were situated at the other end of the Rhine trade-route. Venice and Genoa, the two chief ports of Italy, were the connecting links between the overland trade-route to north Europe and the sea-route to the East, which was an Italian monopoly (see map). These two

[1] The Free Cities of the Empire were self-governing, not under the dominion of any princely ruler.



4. MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES

great rival cities controlled between them all the trade of the Levant (in wine and fruit) and the Black Sea. It was also in Venetian or Genoese shipping that the produce of the eastern caravans was collected at the ports of Constantinople, Trebizond, Tripoli, and Alexandria. Indian silk was a much sought luxury in the families of European noblemen; eastern spices, like pepper and cinnamon, were also much desired to flavour the salted meat which formed a staple article of winter diet.

All this trade came to England, either in Italian ships via the Straits of Gibraltar, or in German ships across the North Sea. There was, however, for three centuries, one minor trade-route in the hands of Englishmen—the southern French wine trade, an English monopoly during the time Bordeaux was an English town (1154–1453). In the north, too, English sailors fought Germans, Danes, and Norwegians for the privilege of sharing the famous Iceland cod fishery. The market for fish (especially herrings) was large because the eating of meat was prohibited by the Church on Fridays and fast days throughout Christendom.

Bordeaux wine

North Sea fishery

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, English traders made an effort to challenge the supremacy of Germans and Italians in the commerce of Europe. A trade grew up in half-manufactured English cloth, exported for finishing in Flanders. The merchants who exported this cloth, like the earlier Merchants of the Staple, formed themselves into a company, called the Merchant Adventurers, some time in the thirteenth century. The earliest known charter to the Merchant Adventurers, giving them the monopoly of the cloth exporting trade, is that of Henry IV (1407). In the same reign another charter was given (1404) to a company afterwards known as the Eastland Company, formed to sell English goods in Germany and Scandinavia, in opposition to the Hansa.

The Merchant Adventurers

The attitude of English governments to the development of overseas trade and the encouragement of English shipping is interesting. The government was usually influenced by the fact that the foreign merchants were rich and willing to lend money, and therefore must not be offended. But in Richard II's reign a Navigation Act was passed (1382) which laid down

Navigation Act, 1382

that both the export and import trade should be carried on in English ships. This Act was an early, and not very successful, attempt to 'protect' the home merchant against the foreigner; it was not often observed.

Under Henry VI English commerce suffered severely. Owing to the weakness of our naval power the Easterlings made open war on English ships, and practically drove them from the seas. The friendship of the House of York with the Duke of Burgundy,[1] however, enabled Edward IV to obtain favourable terms for the Merchant Adventurers, by a treaty (1462) with his ally, Duke Charles. The Hansa, on the other hand, extracted concessions from Edward IV, who was obliged to borrow money from them to pay for his invasion of England (1471). By a treaty with the Hanseatic League (1474), Edward confirmed all the privileges of the German merchants in England, and so the unpopular foreigners were firmly seated in the head-quarters of English commerce.

Concessions to the Hansa

The condition of England in the fifteenth century was not so bad as a study of the Wars of the Roses might lead us to suppose. The wool trade and cloth trade were flourishing, and English merchants were making a definite effort to compete with their German and Italian rivals. However, the weakness of English sea-power under Henry VI caused a decline in overseas commerce. Though this was followed by a partial revival under Edward IV, it was not until the Tudor period that England was able to take a leading position in the commerce of Europe.

6. *The Passing of the Middle Ages*

The fifteenth century a period of transition

The fifteenth century is the great transitional period of English and European history. Everywhere the old order was changing. There had been signs, indeed, for some time before this, that the long-established order of the medieval world was breaking up. This is seen in England at the end of the fourteenth century, in the Peasants' Revolt and in Wycliffe's attack on the Church. The gradual ending of serfdom broke up the old economic arrangements, and prepared the way for

[1] See above, p. 275, footnote.

sheep farming and for the rise of new trading classes. Wycliffe, the forerunner of the Reformation, anticipated the work of Martin Luther (born 1483), the German friar who led the attack on the Catholic system, which for so many centuries had reigned unchallenged. Again, the Wars of the Roses were the worst outbreak of feudal anarchy in England, reminiscent of Stephen's time—and fortunately they were the last outbreak, for they were the suicide of the feudal baronage. In the Tudor monarchy, set on the throne by the victory of Bosworth, England found her true strength. Only fifty years separated the weakness of Henry VI from the self-conscious pride of Henry VIII.

In one respect there is a great contrast between English and European history during this period. The long, disastrous reign of Henry VI, followed by the bloody progress of the House of York to power, gives an impression of weakness combined with demoralization. But still, there were signs even in England of the intellectual and artistic awakening[1] which was taking place in southern Europe at this time. In Italy, especially in the wonderful city of Florence, there was a great outburst of activity in the realms of literature, science, and art,[2] to which has been given the name of the Renaissance.

The Italian Renaissance

Among the inventions of this age, none exercised a more profound effect than that of printing by movable type. The first known European printing-press was set up by a German called Gutenberg, of Mainz (1453). Printing was introduced into England (1476) by William Caxton, once Governor of the Merchant Adventurers at Bruges, where he lived for nearly forty years and was helped by the English-born Duchess Margaret, Edward IV's sister. He probably learnt the art of printing after a visit to Cologne. Shortly after this he moved to England, where he printed, at Westminster, a book called *The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres*. For the remaining fourteen years of his life Caxton wrote, translated, and printed books in London. Among his publications

Invention of Printing

Caxton 1476

[1] See note on Duke Humphrey, p. 261.

[2] Even from the thirteenth century. The poet Dante (1265–1321), and the artists Cimabue (1240–1302) and Giotto (1276–1336) were all Florentines. For the Renaissance, see next Chapter.

were an edition of the *Canterbury Tales* and of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*.

In conclusion, we may note two great movements in European history which took place during the Lancaster-York period: the rise of the Ottoman Turks, and the progress of the Portuguese mariners. The Turks first set foot in Europe in 1356, when they landed in the Gallipoli peninsula; since that fateful day they have never been entirely dislodged from this continent. In the course of a hundred years they conquered the greater part of the Balkans, attacked the Venetians in their Mediterranean islands, and finally destroyed the Eastern Roman Empire. Constantinople fell before the arms of the Sultan Mohammed II on 29 May 1453—the same year that the English were finally driven from Bordeaux. The fall of Constantinople is one of the most striking and significant events in the history of the world. There had been Roman emperors reigning in the city on the Bosphorus since Constantine founded his capital there—more than a thousand years before. But the Empire was far older than Constantine; the Turks destroyed the last feeble sparks of the mighty Roman Empire which had once dictated laws to the world.

The Turks

Fall of Constantinople, 1453

The activities of the Portuguese sailors were significant because they turned men's thoughts away from Europe in a new direction. Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), a cousin of Henry V of England,[1] was the man who inspired this new adventure. Under his direction, for forty years, the Portuguese steadily explored the coast of Africa. Prince Henry and others had been influenced by the tales of the wonders of the East which had been told in Europe ever since the days of the great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo (1254–1324), contemporary with our Edward I. Marco Polo's adventures during his journey to China, and an account of his seventeen years' residence in the court of the Great Khan, had been written down in a book which stirred all adventurous minds. Columbus himself possessed a copy, and made notes on many of its pages. But Prince Henry did not live to see the African trade-route to the East discovered. He died (1460) soon

The Age of Exploration

[1] His mother was Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt.

after the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands and the neighbouring coast-line. But his work prepared the way for the finding of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, and for the even more momentous voyages of Columbus (born 1446). With Columbus we stand on the threshold of the modern world. Columbus



Trade in the fifteenth century. A contemporary drawing of one of the Hanseatic ports (see pp. 282–4).

DATE SUMMARY: LATER PLANTAGENETS (1377–1485)

ENGLAND AND FRANCE	ENGLAND AND WALES (REBELLIONS)	EUROPE
	RICHARD II (1377–99)	
1380 Wycliffe translates Bible	1381 PEASANTS' REVOLT	1378 'Babylonian Captivity' ended
1382 Expulsion of Lollards from Oxford		1378–1415 Great Schism
1384 Wycliffe *d.*		
1387 Lords Appellant	1387 Gloucester's Rebellion ⚔ Radcot Bridge	
1389–99 Personal government of Richard		
1396 Peace with France		
1397 Murder of Gloucester		
1398 Hereford banished		
1399 John of Gaunt *d.* Deposition of Richard II	1399 Lancaster's Rebellion	
	HOUSE OF LANCASTER (1399–1461)	
1399–1413 Henry IV	1401 Rebellion of Owen Glendower	
	1403 Rebellion of the Percies ⚔ Shrewsbury	
1406 Stat. de Heretico Comburendo		
1413–22 Henry V		
1415 Henry invades France. ⚔ Agincourt		1415 Portuguese take Ceuta
1420 Treaty of Troyes		
1422–61 Henry VI Regency of Bedford and Gloucester		
1429 Joan of Arc at Orleans		
1431 Joan of Arc burnt		
1435 Bedford *d.*		
1445 Henry *m.* Margaret of Anjou		1445 Portuguese land in Guinea
		1446 Birth of Columbus
1450 ⚔ Formigny. Loss of Normandy	1450 Cade's Rebellion	
1453 ⚔ Castillon. Loss of France End of HUNDRED YEARS WAR		1453 FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE
	1455 First ⚔ St. Albans Beginning of WARS OF ROSES	
	1460 ⚔ Wakefield.	1460 Henry the Navigator *d.*
	1461 ⚔ Mortimer's Cross	
	HOUSE OF YORK (1461–85)	
1461–83 Edward IV	1461 ⚔ Towton	
	1464 ⚔ Hexham	
	1469 Rebellion of Warwick and Clarence	
	1471 ⚔ Barnet. Warwick killed ⚔ Tewkesbury	
1476 Caxton in England		
1478 Murder of Clarence		
1483 Murder of Edward V		
1483–5 Richard III	1483 Buckingham's Rebellion	
	1485 Richmond's Rebellion ⚔ Bosworth	

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